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Francis E. Gilgot.

An introduction to the study
of the Holy Scripture.

v. 2.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION
TO THE
STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY

✓
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PART I.

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS.

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PREFACE.

AMONG the questions which have stood most prominent before the minds of men deeply interested in religious matters during the latter part of the nineteenth century are to be reckoned those which appertain to a Special Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament. Such problems as refer to the Authorship, Purpose, Date, Literary Structure, Historical Value, etc., of each book contained in the first part of the Bible have appealed powerfully to Biblical students, and hardly less so to the attentive readers of the numerous books or periodicals wherein they are oftentimes discussed, oftener still alluded to. It was only natural, therefore, that after the questions which are common to the writings of both the Old and the New Testament had been treated in a "General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures," those which concern especially the books of the Old Testament should be next studied in a "Special Introduction" to that first part of the Sacred Volume. While, however, the work was being prepared for the press, the conviction was gradually forced upon the writer that, to give to each question the developments it naturally demanded, more than one volume would be necessary for the study of all the books of the Old Testament. In consequence, the work has been divided into two parts and will form two volumes

of about equal size, the former of which is now published and deals only with the *Historical* Books of the Old Testament.

Like the foregoing treatise on "General Introduction," the present volume is the outcome of Lectures delivered during several years of professorship in Theological Seminaries, and is naturally intended as a text-book for institutions of the kind. In composing it the writer has followed the same method he had applied in the study of the questions belonging to General Introduction. He has also been careful, as in the foregoing volume, to supply the reader with constant references to the best books from which further information can easily be gathered.

A forthcoming volume will deal with the special topics relating to the *Didactic* and *Prophetical* writings of the Old Testament.

BALTIMORE, June 8, 1901.

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SPECIAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

PROLEGOMENA.

§ 1. *The Old Testament.*

I. Definition and Various Names. The Old Testament is that part of the Bible which comprises the sacred books written before the coming of Christ. The word *Testamentum* (hence the English, Testament) is an old Latin rendering of the Hebrew *Brith*, and of the Greek *Διαθήκη*, the meaning of which is "Covenant." The *Old Testament* would therefore naturally designate the Covenant made by God with the Jews of old, in contrast to the later Covenant made with the Christian people, the new "Israel of God"¹; and in point of fact, this conception is often set forth in the inspired writings composed since the coming of Our Lord.² The name itself is taken from II Cor. iii, 14, and is now extended to designate the written records of the Old Covenant.

Among the other collective names which are frequently applied to the sacred books written before the Christian era, we may mention: (1) (Heb. *Kethav*, *Mikhtav*), ἡ γραφή, Scriptura, the Scripture, αἱ γραφαί, Scripturæ, the Scriptures, Ἀγία γραφή, Sacræ Scripturæ, the Holy Scriptures,

¹ Galat. vi, 16.

² Cfr. especially Hebr. viii, ix.

and *Ἱερὰ γράμματα*, the sacred letters ; (2) (Heb. *Haqra*, *Hammiqra*), the reading (book), by way of eminence, similar to the Arabic name : Qor'an. This latter appellation, which is applied to the books of Moses in Nehemias viii, 8, is extended by the Rabbis to the whole collection of the Old Testament. The other appellations of the books of the Old Covenant are often used by Josephus, Philo, and the Rabbis, and also by the inspired writers of the New Testament.¹ But Christians apply them now collectively to the books of both Testaments.

2. Number of the Sacred Books of the Old Testament. The books of the Old Testament solemnly declared "sacred and canonical" by the Council of Trent (Sess. iv, Decret. de Canon. Script.) are as follows : "the five books of Moses (to wit, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), Josue, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomenon, the first book of Esdras and the second, which is entitled Nehemias, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, the Davidical Psalter consisting of a hundred and fifty Psalms ; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Jeremias (that is, his Prophecies and Lamentations) with Baruch ; Ezechiel, Daniel ; the twelve minor prophets (to wit, Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggæus, Zacharias, Malachias), two books of the Machabees, the first and the second." From this enumeration it follows that the inspired writings of the Old Testament are forty-five in number, although Protestants, rejecting those books which are not found in the Hebrew Text,² consider the Old Testament as made up of

¹ Cfr. Matt. xxii. 29 ; Rom. i, 2 ; II Tim. iii, 15 sq. ; II Petr. i, 20 ; etc.

² The books of Holy Writ not contained in the Hebrew Bible are : Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the first and second of the Machabees. The fragments of Esther (x, 4-xvi, 24) and Daniel (iii, 24-90 ; xiii-xiv) are also missing in the Hebrew Bible.

only thirty-nine books. Besides, owing to their peculiar method of counting their sacred writings, the Jews spoke formerly of twenty-four books, and speak now of only twenty-two in the Hebrew Bible.

3. Principal Divisions and Arrangement of the Books of the Old Testament. Next to the general division of the Christian Bible into the books of the Old Testament and those of the New Testament, the most important division of the sacred writings is that found in the Hebrew Text. The Jews divide their sacred books into three great sections called respectively "the Law" or Torah (תּוֹרָה), "the Prophets" or N^bhî'im (נְבִיאִים), and "the Writings" or K^thûbhîm (כְּתוּבִים, in Greek ἀγιό-γραφα). "The Law" includes the five books (Pentateuch) associated with the name of Moses. "The Prophets" are subdivided into the *earlier* prophets (Josue, Judges, I, II Samuel, I, II Kings) and the *later* prophets (Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel and the twelve minor prophets). "The Writings" or Hagiographa include (1) Poetical books (Psalms, Proverbs, Job); (2) the five M^ghillôth or Rolls (Canticle of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther); (3) other books (Daniel, Esdras, Nehemias, Paralipomenon or Chronicles). Within the last two great sections, the order of the books sometimes varied, and other divisions of great antiquity are known; but the one given is of particular importance for the treatment of Special Introduction to the Old Testament.

A very different arrangement of the sacred books written before Christ, is to be met with in the Vulgate, borrowed from the Septuagint. The opening books (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy), being regarded as *historical*, are followed immediately by all those which

are considered as such, whether they refer to the general history of Israel (Josue, Judges, Ruth, I–IV Kings, I, II Paralipomenon, Esdras and Nehemias), or simply deal with particular facts (Tobias, Judith, Esther). After the historical books—without any special title indicative of the change—come the *poetical* and *didactic* works, viz.: Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. Then follow, again without warning, the *prophetical* books, viz.: the books of the four great prophets (Isaias, Jeremias (with Baruch), Ezechiel and Daniel) and those of the twelve minor prophets. The series closes with the two books of the Machabees placed last in order, because supposed to be the last written. So that, although there is no order formally indicated in the Vulgate, yet—with the sole exception of the books of the Machabees—all the writings of the Old Testament which treat of apparently the same general topic, be it history, doctrine or prophecy, are carefully placed together.

To make the important differences between the two arrangements more apparent, we place them side by side in the following schedule :

I. LIST OF SACRED BOOKS IN THE VULGATE.

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Num- bers, Deuterono- my. Josue, Judges, Ruth, I, II Kings (Heb., I, II Samuel); III, IV Kings (Heb., I, II Kings); I, II Paralipomenon (Heb., I, II Chron- icles); Esdras, Nehemias, Tobias. Judith, Esther.	Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus.	Isaias, Jeremias (Prophe- cies, Lamenta- tions) and Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel. Twelve minor Prophets.	I, II Macha- bees.
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II. LIST OF SACRED BOOKS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE.

I. The Law (Torah).	II. The Prophets (N'bhî'im).	III. The Writings (K'ethûbbîm), (commonly called the Hagiographa).
Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.	(1) <i>Earlier</i> Prophets: Josue, Judges, I, II Samuel, I, II Kings. (2) <i>Later</i> Prophets: Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Twelve Minor Prophets.	(1) Psalms, Proverbs, Job; (2) Canticle of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther; (3) Daniel, Esdras, Nehemias, I, II Chronicles.

§ 2. *Special Introduction to the Old Testament.*

I. Its Object. In most Protestant Introductions to the Old Testament which have appeared of late, all the preliminary topics connected with this first part of the Bible are usually dealt with. A first section is ordinarily devoted to a more or less brief treatment of the Canon, Text and Versions, etc., of the Old Testament; while a second section is taken up with the questions which refer to the contents, date, authorship, etc., of its separate books. All such works have indeed the advantage of supplying the reader with a treatment of all the leading topics introductory to the study of the Old Testament. But they bring together in one volume two distinct sets of questions which are usually, and rightly, treated apart by recent Catholic writers on Biblical Introduction. The preliminary topics connected with the sacred books collectively,—and of that description are plainly those that refer to the Canon, Text and Versions, Inspiration, etc., of either the Old or the New Testament,—belong naturally to a General Introduction to Holy Writ, and on that account have been already dealt with in a separate volume.¹ So that the introductory topics

¹ General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. (Benziger Bros., 1900.)

which remain to be treated in this Special Introduction to the Old Testament are those which concern its separate books. They are chiefly the great questions of authenticity, integrity, date, mode of composition, literary form, reliability, etc., of each sacred record ; questions which Literary Criticism has dealt with for centuries, in reference to ordinary ancient writings, but which Christian scholars long hesitated to examine in connection with our inspired books.

2. Its Method and Importance. In the treatment of these difficult problems, Biblical scholars generally pursue the truly scientific method of historical and critical investigation,¹ which was introduced towards the end of the seventeenth century by the French Oratorian, Richard Simon (1632-1712). Its general purpose is to give as genuine facts, or as valid inferences from facts, only those which, in the light of historical knowledge and sound criticism, are entitled to be considered as such. To reach this end it neglects none of the available data, estimates judiciously both intrinsic and extrinsic evidence, and admits only such conclusions as are strictly warranted. It pays particular attention to internal evidence which is so highly valued at the present day, and to its bearing on traditional views, whether—as sometimes happens—it strengthens them, or—as happens at other times—it requires that they should be given up or modified to a considerable extent. It takes into full account the many acquired results of modern critical research, as also the positions and arguments which contemporary scholars base upon either intrinsic or extrinsic evidence. In fine, it meets the real issues of the day concerning each separate book, on grounds acceptable to all unbiassed minds, and in a manner which shows that the sacred writings need not be

¹ Whence the title adopted by Father Cornely, S.J., for his Introductory volumes : *Historica et Critica Introductio in U. T. Libros Sacros.*

dealt with in an exceptional way to vindicate their genuineness or their reliability.

Whoever bears in mind the subject-matter and the method of investigation just assigned to a Special Introduction to the Old Testament, will easily understand its paramount importance. The questions of date, composition, literary structure, etc., of the several books of the Old Covenant are topics which, perhaps more than any others at present, engross the attention of the intellectual and religious world, and in which so many people, lay and ecclesiastic, Catholic as well as Protestant, take such a deep and ever-growing interest. Whence follows for the Biblical student the importance, or rather the necessity, of pursuing the examination of these subjects on truly scientific lines. For, as is well stated by Father Hogan, "it is inadmissible that the future defender of the true faith should be left in ignorance of the weak or threatened points of the position he holds. He cannot be expected to deal off hand with difficulties he never heard of before; neither is it proper that his information on such subjects, even if he is not compelled to discuss them, should be dependent on chance or on imperfect and, often, inaccurate information which he might derive from his intercourse with books picked up at random, or with men only a little less ignorant than himself."¹

3. Principal Divisions Adopted. It will be remembered that the sacred books of the Old Testament, as found in the Vulgate and the Septuagint, follow a topical arrangement. All those that are generally considered as historical (except indeed the two books of the Machabees which are placed at the end of the Old Testament) are given first; next come the didactic writings, and finally

¹ Clerical Studies, p. 441.

the prophetical books. This threefold division, though imperfect in some respects, is nevertheless preferable to that found in the Hebrew Text, and is followed at times by writers on Special Introduction to the Old Testament. It is the one adopted in the present work as being easier and more familiar to the student. In the first volume of this Special Introduction to the Old Testament, we shall deal with all the *Historical* books, those of the Machabees included; in the second, with the *Didactic* and *Prophetical* writings.

4. Recent Literature. The principal works for the study of Special Introduction to the Old Testament, which have been published during the last twenty years, are the following:

CATHOLIC.

Abbé VIGOUROUX, S.S., Manuel Biblique, vol. ii. (Many editions have appeared since the first, completed in 1880.)

Ubaldo UBALDI, Introductio in S. Script., vol. i (2d edit., Rome, 1882).

TROCHON and LESÊTRE, Introduction à l'Etude de l'Ecriture Sainte, vol. ii (Paris, 1890).

Rudolphus CORNELY, S.J., vol. ii. of *Historica et Critica Introductio in U. T. Libros Sacros* (Paris, 1887).

H. RAULT, Cours Elémentaire d'Ecriture Sainte, vols. i, ii (4th edit., Paris, 1882).

Franz KAULEN, Einleitung in die heilige Schrift A. und N. Testaments. (Besonderer Theil. (A) Das Alte Testament. 2d edit., Freiburg, 1884.)

PROTESTANT.

S. R. DRIVER, Introduction to the Literature of the O. T., 6th edit. (New York, 1897).

C. H. CORNILL, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (4th edit., Freiburg, 1896).

Ed. KÖNIG, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (Bonn, 1893).

H. L. STRACK, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (4th edit., Munich, 1894).

BLEEK-WELLHAUSEN, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (Berlin, 1886).

E. KAUTZSCH, *An Outline of the History of the Literature of the O. T.* (Eng. Trans., New York, 1899).

Chas. H. WRIGHT, *An Introduction to the O. T.* (New York, 1894).

Chas. Jno. ELLICOTT, *Editor of Plain Introductions to the Books of the Bible. Vol. 1st. Old Testament Introductions* (London, 1893).

W. H. BENNETT, *A Biblical Introduction: The Old Testament* (New York, 1899).

The Introductions to the separate books of the Old Testament in the various Catholic and Protestant Commentaries, together with the articles on those same books in VIGOUROUX, *Dictionn. de la Bible* ; SMITH, HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible* ; CHEYNE, *Encyclopædia Biblica* ; and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th edit.) may also be usefully consulted.

DIVISION I.

THE OPENING HISTORICAL BOOKS : GENESIS-
JOSUE.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER I.

DIVISION I.—THE OPENING HISTORICAL BOOKS : GENESIS—JOSUE.

Chapter I. Opinions as to their Authorship.

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| <p>I.</p> <p>PRELIMINARY
STATEMENTS :</p> | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Principal Names given to the opening Historical Books (The Law ; the Law of Moses ; the Pentateuch ; the Hexateuch ; etc.). 2. Importance of the Question concerning their Authorship. 3. General Contents of the first Six Books of the Old Testament. | | | |
| | | | | | |
| <p>II.</p> <p>THE TRADITIONAL
VIEW :</p> | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Brief Statement. 2. Sketch of its History among Jews and Christians. 3. Theological Binding Force. | | | |
| | | | | | |
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Gradual Development.</p> </td> </tr> </table> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Document-Hypothesis : 2. Fragment-Hypothesis : Its Transient and its Permanent Features. 3. Supplement-Hypothesis : Chief Exponents and Positions. 4. Later Document-Theory : Number and Date of the Documents admitted. 5. The Development-Theory of Reuss, Graf, and Wellhausen. | { | <p>Origin : Jean Astruc (1753).
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Gradual Development.</p> | | | |

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

DIVISION I.

THE OPENING HISTORICAL BOOKS : GENESIS- JOSUE.

CHAPTER I.

OPINIONS AS TO THEIR AUTHORSHIP.

§ 1. *Preliminary Statements.*

1. Principal Names given to the Opening Historical Books. In the Hebrew Bible, the first five books are designated under the collective name of "the *Law*" or "the *Law of Moses*," as embodying, with historical setting and introduction, the Mosaic legislation. Sometimes, it is true, the entire Old Testament is called "the *Law*" *a potiori parte* ; but it is beyond question that usually in the later books of the Old Covenant, and in those of the New, such expressions as "the *Law*,"¹ "the *Law of Moses*,"² "the *Book of the Law of Moses*,"³ "the *Book of Moses*,"⁴ have direct reference to the whole or a part of our first five books.

¹ Matt. vii, 12 ; xii, 5 ; Luke x, 26 ; Nehem. viii, 2, 7, 13 ; etc.

² II Paralip. xxiii, 18 ; Esdr. iii, 2 ; vii, 6 ; etc.

³ Nehem. viii, 1 ; etc.

⁴ Esdr. vi, 18 ; Nehem. xiii, 1 ; etc.

The division of "the Law" into five books was probably not the primitive one, but must have existed prior to the Septuagint Version (280-130 B.C.). It has led Rabbinical writers to speak of "the five-fifths of the Law," and Christian scholars, of "the *Pentateuch*" (Pentateuchus, sc. liber—*ἡ Πεντάτευχος*, sc. βίβλος). This latter name, which is found already in the works of Origen († 254)¹ and Tertullian († 220)², signifies the fivefold book, and is now commonly used to designate collectively the first five books of the Old Testament. Recent scholars, however, for reasons which will appear later, combine the book of Josue with the *Pentateuch*, and give to the entire series Genesis-Josue, the collective meaning of "the *Hexateuch*."

2. Importance of the Question concerning their Authorship. The question of the authorship of the opening historical books of the Old Testament has long been considered by both believers and unbelievers as one of great importance.³ This is mainly due to the fact that the solution of such problems as the purpose, date, integrity, literary form, reliability, etc., of those sacred writings has been made, perhaps too much, to depend on conclusions which were admitted concerning their respective authorship. But independently of this main aspect of the case, there are many circumstances which have contributed to render this question of authorship one of deep interest to the students of Holy Writ.

There is, first of all, the fact that the critical study of the sacred Text has been carried on for upwards of a century by numerous men whose "honesty of purpose, great talents, extensive erudition, rare acquaintance with Hebrew and

¹ In Joannem, tom. xiv, p. 218 (Rouen, 1668).

² Against Marcion, Book i, chap. x.

³ Cfr. Abbé J. P. MARTIN, de l'Origine du Pentateuque, vol. i, p. 2 sq.

its sister dialects,"¹ must be acknowledged. Furthermore, the principal results of their keen and prolonged scrutiny have become very widely known, and in fact have, of late, won an almost unanimous assent on the part of expert Orientalists;² while the scientific methods applied by them have been in striking contrast with the offhand manner in which their work and conclusions have been too often treated by both Catholic and Protestant defenders of the authorship of Genesis-Josue. Finally, there is the consequent uncertainty which prevails in the minds of many believers in a supernatural revelation, regarding the present state of the question, and its actual bearing upon the authorship and value of the other Old Testament records. All this, and more, shows how the question of the authorship of the opening historical books has gradually become one of great importance.

3. General Contents of the First Six Books of the Old Testament. The opening book of the Bible is called *Genesis* (generation), a Greek word borrowed from the Septuagint rendering of Gen. ii, 4a, *αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς*. In the Hebrew Bible it is designated by its first word, *בְּרֵאשִׁית*, B^ere'shîth. It stands as an introduction to the other five, and in fact to the entire history of the Jewish people. It contains the history of the world down to the call of Abraham (i-xi, 26); then the history of Israel's ancestors, the patriarchs, down to the death of Joseph in Egypt (xi, 27-1). In the form under which it has been transmitted to us, the narrative is cast into a framework, or scheme, marked by the recurring formula:

¹ Abp. W. SMITH, *The Book of Moses, or the Pentateuch in its Authorship, Credibility, and Civilization*, vol. i, p. 5.

² See a long, though incomplete, list of them in BRIGGS, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, p. 143 sq. One of the latest scholars who have admitted most of those results is FR. VON HUMMELAUER, S.J.

"These are the generations (Heb. Tol'dôth, i.e., begettings) of . . .," and is divided into ten sections as follows. They are the generations—

(1) of the heaven and the earth (i-iv) ;	(6) of Thare and Abraham (xi, 27-xxv, 11) ;
(2) of Adam (v-vi, 8) ;	(7) of Ismael (xxv, 12-18) ;
(3) of Noe (vi, 9-ix, 29) ;	(8) of Isaac (xxv, 19-xxxv) ;
(4) of the Sons of Noe (x-xi, 9) ;	(9) of Esau (xxxvi) ;
(5) of Sem (xi, 10-26) ;	(10) of Jacob (xxxvii-1).

The second historical book of the Old Testament is called *Exodus*, a Latinized form of the Greek word *Ἔξοδος* used as a title to it in the Septuagint Version, and meaning "*departure*," in allusion to the great event—the departure of Israel from Egypt—which forms the main subject of this book. Its Hebrew title, *Welleh Shemôth* (or simply *Shemôth*), is taken from its opening words. The book of Exodus carries the history of the Israelite nation from the death of Joseph to the erection of the Tabernacle by Moses. Its first section (chaps. i-xiii, 16) narrates the events which gradually led to the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt ; its second section (chaps. xiii, 17-xviii) describes in detail the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt and their journey to Sinai ; its third and last section (chaps. xix-xl) records more particularly the receiving of the Law and the construction of the Tabernacle.

The third book is called by the Jews *Wayyigra'* from its opening word. Its usual name of *Leviticus* is a Latinization of the Greek title *Λευιτικόν*. It contains the bulk of ritualistic legislation, the leading parts of which refer respectively to Sacrifices (chaps. i-vii) ; the Consecration of the Priesthood (viii-x) ; legal defilements and the Day of Atonement (xi-xvi) ; the Law of Holiness, with Appendix (xvii-xxvii). All its prescriptions are set forth as having been promulgated in the first week of the second year of

the sojourn in the Wilderness before the Israelites departed from Sinai.

The book of *Numbers* is called by the Jews *B^emidbar* from its fifth word in the Hebrew Text. The appellation "Numbers" comes from the Latin translation of *Ἀριθμοί*, a title given to this book in the Septuagint, because it opens with a census of the people and of the Levites. The book of Numbers carries on the history of the Pentateuch to the tenth month of the 40th year, and may be divided into three principal parts: (1) the preparations for leaving Sinai (chaps. i-x, 10); (2) the journey from Sinai to the border of Chanaan (x, 10-xix); (3) the conquest and taking possession of the territory east of the Jordan (xx-xxxvi).

The book of *Deuteronomy* is called in the Hebrew Bible *'elleh Hadd^evarim* (or simply *D^evarim*) from its opening words. The name "Deuteronomy" is derived from the Septuagint rendering *τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο* in chap. xvii, 18. This book is not very closely connected with the four preceding, and has a peculiar character of its own. It consists mainly of three discourses (i-iv, 43; iv, 44-xxvi; xxvii-xxx), put on the lips of Moses at the time when the Israelites were preparing to enter Western Palestine. In these discourses the entire law is resumed and inculcated with a view to its observance after the settlement of the people in the Promised Land. The last chapters (xxxi-xxxiv) are historical, relating the closing events of the life of Moses, his death, and the mourning that followed.

The book of *Josue*, thus named from the successor of Moses in command, "describes the final stage in the history of the *Origines* of the Hebrew nation."¹ It is naturally divided into two parts: (1) chaps. i-xii give an account

¹ S. R. DRIVER, *Introd. to the Literature of the O. T.*, 6th edit., p. 103. It is plain that the divine promise that the Israelites shall occupy Chanaan, which is so repeatedly made in Genesis, and never entirely lost sight of in the following books, is shown only in the book of Josue to have had its actual fulfilment.

of the conquest of Chanaan; (2) chaps. xiii-xxi describe the division of the land among the tribes. The Appendix to the book comprises the final settlement of Ruben, Gad, and half-Manasses in Eastern Palestine, and the events connected with the death and burial of Josue.

The foregoing short analysis of the first six books of the Old Testament shows that their contents are made up principally of two elements, history and legislation, though in varying proportions: thus Genesis and Josue are almost exclusively a narrative with only allusions to the Law; Leviticus and Deuteronomy, on the contrary, are almost entirely legislative; while in Exodus and Numbers the two elements are well represented. It shows also—and this is very important to bear in mind—that those sacred books contain not only the prescriptions of the common law for the people, but also a multitude of special ordinances which refer to divine worship and constitute a most elaborate ritual.

§ 2. *The Traditional View regarding the Authorship of Genesis-Josue.*

I. Its Brief Statement. The traditional view concerning the authorship of the first six books of the Bible, as maintained at the present day, holds that Moses, the deliverer and lawgiver of the Hebrews, recorded under the divine guidance, about the fourteenth century B.C., the origin of the world and the history of the people of God up to the time when Israel was about to enter the Promised Land. It claims for him the actual *writing* of the Pentateuch whether with his own hand, or by means of a secretary, or in both ways, as occasion served. It does not, however, suppose that he was the *original author* of everything in it, but rather admits that, beside personal observation, he used, with due caution, the current traditions of his time, popular

songs, registers, genealogies, narratives, etc. It does not therefore hold that everything in *Genesis* came *originally* from him; much less still that he wrote the last portion of Deuteronomy, although it is difficult to fix the precise point where Moses ends and the next writer begins. Finally, defenders of the traditional view are not opposed to admit interpolations in the body of the Pentateuch, for no work of antiquity is entirely free from them, and neither the Old Testament nor the New has been exempt from careless or fraudulent transcription.¹

As the traditional view traces back the Pentateuch in its present form to the pen of Moses, so it refers the sixth historical book of the Bible to the pen of Josue. It grants, however, that a few unimportant interpolations may have crept into the text (xv, 15-19; xviii, 27), and that the closing verses, which record the death of Josue and events subsequent to it (xxiv, 29-33), were added to the book by a later hand.

2. Sketch of its History among Jews and Christians. It is beyond doubt that the traditional view which has just been set forth goes back, in substance, to several centuries before Christ. This is clearly proved, as regards the Pentateuch, by the testimony of the later books of the Old Testament which ascribe to Moses the authorship of "the Book of the Law"; and is certainly implied, as regards the book of Josue, in the title which it bears in the Septuagint Version. The same general positions were also held in the time of Our Lord, with this difference, however, that both Philo² and Josephus³ distinctly affirm that Moses wrote even the last eight verses of Deuteronomy, which

¹ Cfr. W. SMITH, *The Book of Moses or the Pentateuch*, vol. i, pp. 13 sqq.

² *Life of Moses*, Book iii, § 39.

³ *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book iv, chap. viii, § 48.

contain the account of his death and burial. Among the early Christian writers, Origen († 253)¹ does not shrink from this extreme view regarding the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; and in the uncanonical written law of the Jews, the Talmud, it is represented together with a more moderate position which is stated as follows: "Moses wrote his book . . . ; Josue wrote his book and the eight verses of the law."² The text of the Talmud ascribes simply to Josue the book that bears his name; but its commentary, the Gemara, as it is called, refers to other hands the closing verses of that sacred book.³

It was only natural that this view, which had the explicit sanction of past ages, and also apparently of such biblical passages as Deuteronomy xxxi, 9; Josue xxiv, 26, should be faithfully transmitted among the Jews and Christians in the course of subsequent ages; and in point of fact it was never seriously questioned until comparatively recent times. At various epochs, however, suspicions arose in the minds of some that the Pentateuch, as it now stands, did not proceed directly from Moses. This is the case, for instance, with the heretical author of the Clementine Homilies, in the second century, who rejected the Mosaic authorship of the Law, claiming "that the Law of God was given by Moses, without writing, . . . and that after Moses was taken up it was written by some one, but not by Moses."⁴ Again, St. Jerome († 420) doubtless perceived many of the difficulties involved in the traditional view, and hence seems to have been disposed to interpret it with due regard for another Jewish tradition, which attributes the rewriting of the entire Law to Esdras,⁵ when he says: "Sive Moysen dicere volue-

¹ Against Celsus, Book ii, chap. liv.

² Treatise Baba Bathra, fol. 14, 2.

³ Josue xxiv, 29-33. Cfr. L. WOGUE, *Histoire de la Bible et de l'Exégèse Biblique*, p. 24.

⁴ Homily iii, chap. xlvii.

⁵ Fourth Book or Apocalypse of Esdras, xiv, 19 sqq.

ris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Ezram ejusdem instauratorem operis.”¹ During the middle ages, Eben Ezra († 1167), the most acute of the medieval rabbis, was apparently the only commentator who called in question the Mosaic authorship of several passages which he regarded as later additions. But at a later date, opponents of the authorship multiplied and were found (1) among Protestant authors, such as Carlstadt († 1541), who wrote: “Defendi potest: Mosen non fuisse Scriptorem quinque librorum”;² and Th. Hobbes († 1679), who says in his *Leviathan*³: “It is sufficiently evident that the five books of Moses were written after his time”; (2) among Jewish writers, such as Baruch Spinoza († 1677), who brought forward many of the modern arguments against the genuineness of the Pentateuch, and added that it is the work of some later compiler, not unlikely Esdras; (3) among Catholic scholars, such as Andreas Maes († 1573) and Bonfrere, S.J., († 1643), who claimed that long after Moses the Pentateuch must have passed through the hands of an editor (of course inspired), who introduced various modifications; and especially such as the French Oratorian, Richard Simon († 1712), who, with truly critical insight, inferred the existence of earlier documents in Genesis from the endless repetitions of the same thing in different words, and the existence of different authors from the differences of style, admitting that the laws of the Pentateuch were written by Moses, while the history of his times was composed by public annalists whom he had appointed, and whose various writings joined later to those of Moses make up our present Pentateuch.⁴

Since the time of Richard Simon, the defenders of the traditional view concerning the authorship of the first six

¹ Against Helvidius (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. xxiii, col. 190).

² *De Script. Canon*, published in 1520.

³ Chap. xxxiii.

⁴ *Cfr. Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, Book 1, chaps. v-vii.

books of the Bible have modified but little the positions which we have seen represented in the Talmud. According to them, Moses must still be considered as the author of the Pentateuch, although he may have used documents in the composition of Genesis, and a comparatively small number of additions to his work by later hands should perhaps be admitted.¹ As regards the authorship of the book of Josue, the statements found in the Talmud are the very same as are repeated at the present day by adherents of the traditional view.²

3. Its Theological Binding Force. The best-ascertained, as it is indeed the most important, point in reference to the theological binding force of the traditional view, consists in the fact that there is no positive decision declaring it an article of Catholic belief. It is true that, in their enumeration of the sacred books, the Fathers of Trent speak of "the five books of Moses, . . . Josue,"³ and that they speak thus without misgivings as regards the authorship therein implied. But it is none the less true that, as clearly appears from the whole tenor of the discussions in the Council and from the very wording of their definition, they intended to, and did actually, settle only the question of the *sacred* and *canonical* character of the books enumerated.⁴ This was fully realized by Melchior Cano, O.P., who, in his famous treatise *De Locis Theologicis*, published in 1563,⁵ wrote as follows: "It does not import much to the Catholic faith that any book was written by this or that author, so long as the Holy Spirit is believed to

¹ For details, see BRIGGS, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, p. 41 sqq. Cfr. also the various works on *Special Introduction to the Old Test.*, already indicated.

² Cfr. VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 415.

³ Concil. Trid., *Canones et Decreta*, Sessio iv, anno 1546.

⁴ Cfr. my *General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Script.*, p. 80 sqq.

⁵ Book i, chap. xi (Migne, *Theolog. Cursus completus*, vol. i, col. 153). It should be noticed that Melchior Cano was one of the Theologians of the Council of Trent.

be the author of it ; which Gregory, in his preamble on Job, chap. i, delivers and explains : for it matters not with what pen the king wrote his letter, if it be true that he wrote it. Whence in this matter, which does not refer to faith (*in ea re, quæ ad fidem non pertinet*). . . .” This has also been the view of Catholic scholars ever since the time of the Council of Trent, whether, like Dom Calmet, O.S.B., († 1757), they rejected the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, or, like Abbé de Broglie († 1895), they strenuously maintained it. The words of the last-named scholar in this connection deserve to be quoted : “ The Church has framed no official decree on this question; and since hypotheses concerning the composition of the entire Pentateuch are very numerous and diverse, since the absolute Mosaic authorship cannot be claimed because of the exceptions relative to the last chapter of Deuteronomy and to certain glosses inserted in the text, since the exceptions known and patent allow us to surmise others that lie hidden from us, the exact limit of what is allowed by orthodoxy on this point does not seem, so long as the Church remains silent, susceptible of being drawn with a perfect certainty.”¹

It seems therefore that the question concerning the authorship of the first six books of the Bible is a scientific problem which meets indeed a tradition which no one should rashly set aside, but also no formal dogmatic truth which would preclude its examination according to a strictly scientific method.

§ 3. *Recent Theories concerning the Authorship of Genesis-Josue.*

1. Document-Hypothesis. The modern criticism of the first six historical books of the Old Testament starts with the publication in 1753, simultaneously at Brussels

¹ Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne, Nov. 1886.

and Paris, by Jean Astruc, a French physician and devout Catholic, of his "*Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse.*" Noticing that the divine name *Elohim* was used throughout some sections of Genesis, and the divine name *Jehovah* (Yahweh) throughout others,¹ he formulated the hypothesis that the sections in which each occurs exclusively were taken by Moses from different memoirs or separate early documents. He analyzed the book into two main sources, the *Elohistic* and the *Jehovistic*, and ten minor ones consisting chiefly of fragments. According to Astruc, Moses arranged his extracts in four different columns,—as Origen did the ancient Versions in his Hexapla, and as Harmonists arrange the four Gospels,—and only afterwards were the contents of those columns written continuously, one after another. In this way, Astruc explained (1) the systematic use of the two divine names; (2) the repetitions of the same subject by ascribing them to separate early documents; and (3) the apparent negligence of Moses in composing Genesis. But his chief merit was no doubt to point to a mark, definite and easily recognized, by which the documents of Genesis could be found out and assigned to different authors.

The investigations of Astruc were continued by J. G. Eichhorn († 1827) (professor first at Jena, and next at Göttingen), who published his Introduction to the Old Testament in 1780, and whose analysis of the documents has been the basis of all critical investigation since his day. On the one hand, he confirmed Astruc's theory regarding the Elohistic and Jehovistic documents, by showing that the use of either divine name was accompanied by differences in the use of words. On the other hand, he simplified

¹ Even the reader not acquainted with Hebrew can observe for himself this important fact, by bearing in mind that in the Greek, Latin and English versions of Genesis the divine name *Elohim* is respectively and regularly rendered by *θεός*, *Deus*, *God*, and the divine name *Jehovah*, by *κύριος*, *Dominus*, *LORD*.

it by admitting only two sources (Elohistic and Jehovistic), which were combined toward the end of the Mosaic age, and to which various glosses were added in the process of editing. Besides, "by a careful analysis of the story of the flood he endeavored to arrive at a clearer conception of the literary marks of each source. He drew up tables of their characteristic forms and classified their expressions, so that he might have the means of recognizing them elsewhere. He rightly described his Elohist as following a chronological method. . . . The 'higher criticism' was thus fairly started; but when applied to Exodus and Leviticus, it did not get beyond the suggestion that they had grown out of a collection of separate documents, many of them incomplete and fragmentary, yet all belonging to the Mosaic age. These pieces he did not attempt to connect with each other, or with the sources of Genesis."¹

Such was, in brief, the origin of a theory, which Eichhorn justly called the *Document-Hypothesis*, because it assumes the existence of two or more independent documents more or less complete, which were blended together in the composition of the Hexateuch. Its principal early exponent, after Astruc and Eichhorn, was Karl David Ilgen (1763-1834), who, in his "Original Documents of the Temple Archives at Jerusalem, in their Primitive Form" (Halle, 1798), maintained that the portions hitherto ascribed to the Elohist were not homogeneous; in other words, that there were two Elohistic documents, and that in consequence the narrative of Genesis should be referred to three independent sources: two Elohistic and one Jehovistic. These were combined by an editor, at whose hands they suffered considerable mutilation, so that it is now difficult to recognize

¹ J. E. CARPENTER and G. H. BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, vol. i, p. 43 (Longmans, 1900).

and restore them.¹ These views of Ilgen, which prevailed in substance at a later date, would most likely have won the assent of many critics of his day, had not his work of analysis betrayed his too great readiness to break up the text into minute fragments.

2. Fragment-Hypothesis. In thus admitting readily the existence of numerous fragments, Ilgen was chiefly yielding to the influence of some prominent critics of the time, whose theory has been called the *Fragment-Hypothesis*, because, according to them, the Pentateuch was compiled from sources which were not documents of considerable length, but isolated fragments of varied origin and pieced together without a definite plan. Such was the view of J. S. Vater († 1826), A. Th. Hartmann († 1838), and a few others, among whom may be mentioned the Catholic priest Alex. Geddes († 1802), who, "as early as 1792, wrote in the preface to his 'Holy Bible, translated with Critical Remarks': 'To the Pentateuch I have joined the book of Josue, because I conceive it to have been compiled by the same author.'"² The *Fragment-Hypothesis* never came into general favor and was soon abandoned. Its denial of the unity of the Pentateuch and more particularly of Genesis, and its extreme minuteness of analysis, were only transient features in Pentateuchal criticism, while its "assertion of the composite character of the whole Pentateuch, of its close connection with the book of Josue, and the consequent denial of its Mosaic authorship,"³ are points universally admitted among higher critics.

3. Supplement-Hypothesis. The theory which then began to prevail, and it indeed prevailed for many years, has

¹ For further information about Ilgen's work, see T. K. CHEYNE, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, p. 28 sqq.

² W. E. ADDIS, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, p. xxiv, footn. 2.

³ W. H. BENNETT and W. F. ADENY, *Biblical Introduction*, p. 21.

been called the *Supplement-Hypothesis*, because it recognizes in Genesis-Josue not the blending of two or more independent parallel sources complete in themselves, but one primitive groundwork (Grundschrift) or basic source, viz.: the Elohist document, to which numerous additions were made by a later Jehovistic editor. Its chief upholders were P. von Bohlen (1835); Fried. Tuch (1838); De Wette (1840), who showed that Deuteronomy should be considered as substantially independent of the other Pentateuchal books; Heinr. Ewald (1853), who argued vigorously that the Elohist and Jehovistic documents can be traced throughout the whole of the Pentateuch; Franz Delitzsch (1860); Fried. Bleek (1860), who maintained—as had already been realized by Geddes—that the book of Josue is an integral part of the history which begins in Genesis, and consequently that the Old Testament opens with a Hexateuch; and Karl A. Knobel (1861)¹, the most influential advocate of the Supplement-Hypothesis.

There was considerable difference of opinion among the defenders of this theory concerning the antiquity of the original documents and the additions. The conclusions of Knobel on this point may be summed up as follows: (1) The Grundschrift,² the oldest code of laws of Israel, composed probably in the time of Saul (about 1000 B.C.); Delitzsch assigned it to the time of Moses; (2) The Supplements added by the Jehovist, under King Ezechias (about 700 B.C.); according to Delitzsch, in the time of Josue; (3) Deuteronomy, that is chaps. i-xxxvi, 13, composed probably by the high priest Helcias, in the reign of Josias (641-610 B.C.),

¹ The dates given are those of the works in which these various scholars adopted the Supplement-Hypothesis.

² The Grundschrift, or Fundamental Writing, is called by many the "Elohist" (the *first* Elohist); by Ewald, the "Book of Origins." Schrader calls it "the Annalistic Writer"; Wellhausen, the "Book of the Four Covenants"; Kuenen and others, the "Priestly Code"; and Addis, the "Priestly Writer."

and inserted at the end of the book of Numbers, the last chapters of which were transferred to their present position at the end of Deuteronomy.¹

4. The Later Document-Hypothesis. However long the Supplement-Hypothesis remained in possession of the field of criticism, a reaction finally set in, and of late it has effected a practically unanimous return to the *Document-Hypothesis*. The reaction started with the publication, in 1853, of Hermann Hupfeld's "Sources of Genesis," in which he distinguished, as Ilgen had done before him, two Elohist, one Jehovist, and a final editor. Since that time it has been shown that "although the first Elohist, or Priestly Code, had been used as the framework of the Pentateuch, the other material has not been used to supplement it, but had been taken from independent sources. Further analysis has been occupied with the detailed division of the books between the several documents, and in showing that the main documents are themselves composite, especially that the Priestly Code may be divided into the older Law of Holiness, and the more recent Priestly Code proper; and that the documents of the Hexateuch extend into Judges, Samuel and Kings."²

Thus, then, the main sources of the Hexateuch commonly admitted by critics in the present day are four in number, and may be briefly described as follows:

(1) The *First Elohist*, the basis of the work, and embracing portions of Genesis, most of Exodus and Leviticus; fragments of it are also found in Numbers, in a few passages of Deuteronomy, and through a considerable part of the book of Josue. It is called by J. Wellhausen "the Book of the Four Covenants," viz.: those recorded in Gen. i, 28-30; ix,

¹ Cfr. Fried BLEEK, *Introd. to the O. Test*, vol. 1, § 72.

² Bennett and Adeney, *loc. cit.*, p. 22.

1-17; xvii; Exod. vi, 2 sqq.;¹ but, from the prevalent tone of its contents, it is generally referred to as the "Priestly Code" and denoted by the abbreviation P C, or simply P. Its most striking portion, as stated above, is called the "Law of Holiness" (L H), because it strongly emphasizes the holiness which belongs to Jehovah, and ought to characterize His people. Kuenen († 1891) refers to it as P¹, to distinguish it from the rest of the Priestly Code, which he designates by P².

(2) The *Second*, or *Younger Elohist*, thus called as contrasted with the former writer, and usually designated by E, although Dillmann († 1894) marks it B, as second in antiquity to the Priestly Code, which he denotes by A. This Second Elohist is sometimes spoken of as the "Theocratic Narrator" from the special bent of his narrative. While Wellhausen and his followers maintain that the Second Elohist is posterior to the Priestly Code, Kuenen, Delitzsch († 1890), and others consider it as earlier in date.²

(3) The *Jehovist* (or more correctly the Jahvist), marked C by Dillmann, but usually designated by J, the initial of Jehovist. His standpoint is characterized by Schrader as that of a "Prophetical Narrator." In reality, the Jehovist is so closely connected with the Second Elohist that Driver gives to both together the names of the "*Prophetical narrative*," and that the analysis of passages containing materials from both, is one of the most perplexing questions in Pentateuchal criticism. Their combination is usually designated by J E, and their chief characteristics are thus stated by Addis:³ "The Jahvist and Elohist are closely akin in relig-

¹ Wellhausen indicates by the letter Q an abbreviation of the Latin word *quatuor*.

² For details, see A. KUENEN, *A Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch*, p. 65 sqq. (Engl. Transl.). Cfr. also S. R. DRIVER, *Intro. to the Literature of the Old Test.*, 6th edit., p. 126 sqq.

³ Documents of the Hexateuch, p. xxxi. For detailed information, see DRIVER, loc. cit., pp. 117-121.

ious ideas, in the subject-matter of which they treat, and in their general style. Very often their accounts ran closely parallel to each other, and only differed in detail. For this reason the editor who united them together was obliged to make constant omissions from one or other of his documents, otherwise he would have had to tell the same story twice over. For the same reason, it is sometimes not only hard but impossible to say what belongs to the Jahvist and what to the Elohist. In Genesis, the compiler sets a piece of the Jahvist document after a piece of the Elohist. The result is a mosaic, and we can take his work to pieces again with tolerable success. We have, e.g., admirable specimens of the Jahvist and Elohist in the history of Joseph. In other books of the Hexateuch, the Jahvist and Elohist are rather fused than pieced together, and discrimination between the two documents is often impossible. Nearly always, however, when uncertain whether a section belongs to the Jahvist or the Elohist, or as to the manner in which the two documents have been combined, we have still ground for perfect confidence that the section belongs to the united work of the Jahvist and Elohist."

(4) The *Deuteronomist*, commonly designated by D, mainly found in Deuteronomy and Josue, and chiefly recognizable by his hortatory style, phrases and turns of expression constantly recurring, etc. This writer is generally considered as having had before him the writings of the Jahvist and Elohist already combined into a connected history.¹ Hence his additions inserted in these portions of the Hexateuch are either designated by D (Deuteronomist) or R (Redactor or Editor).

These four principal documents have been united by various editors who probably combined first the Jahvist with the Elohist (J E), then both the Jahvist and Elohist (J E)

¹ Cfr. DRIVER, Deuteronomy, in the International Critical Commentary, pp. iii xxix.

with the Deuteronomist (D), and finally these three united (J E D) with the Priestly Code (P).

But while recent critics are practically unanimous concerning the number of the main sources of the Hexateuch, they are considerably at variance as regards the date to be ascribed to some of them. They all agree, however, in rejecting the Mosaic authorship of any one of these great documents, Delitzsch himself, the most conservative among them, having finally yielded to evidence in this regard, and seeing his way only to admit that there are large Mosaic elements contained in the Pentateuch, but mixed up with others of a much later date. Eb. Schrader assigns the Priestly Code to the days of David; the Second Elohist, to a time shortly after the disruption of Solomon's kingdom (B.C. 975-950); the Jehovist, to the end of the ninth century B.C.; and the Deuteronomist, to the time of King Josias (641-610 B.C.). Th. Nöldeke ascribes the first three documents to the tenth or ninth century B.C., regards the Priestly Code as somewhat posterior to the other two (he places it about 800 B.C.), and affirms that the Deuteronomist wrote shortly before the reformation started by King Josias. A. Dillmann agrees with Nöldeke as regards the age of the Priestly Code, though he maintains that the work contains portions of higher antiquity. According to him, the Second Elohist goes back to the first half of the ninth century; the Jehovist, to the middle of the eighth; and the Deuteronomist, to the seventh century B.C. Finally, Delitzsch admits that the Priestly Code has indeed its roots in the Mosaic times, but belongs as a whole to a late period, some time before the Exile. The Jehovist and Deuteronomist are ranked by Delitzsch after Solomon, but before Isaias. As regards the Second Elohist, he declares that some of its elements were already interwoven with the Jehovistic work when Deuteronomy originated and became attached to it. Finally, he

admits that there may be passages in the Pentateuch added even in days after the Babylonian Exile.¹

5. The Development-Theory of Reuss, Graf, and Wellhausen. The most recent and, in several respects, the most important theory of Pentateuchal criticism is that which has received the name of the *Development-Hypothesis*. It can be traced back to Edw. Reuss († 1891) of Strasburg, to whom it came, he says, as an intuition in his Biblical studies, and who exposed it to his students from 1834 onward. The first of his pupils to work it out in a scientific manner was Heinr. Graf († 1869), in two essays he published at the close of 1865. Differently from the Critics who had gone before him, and had been chiefly concerned with the *historical* element of the Pentateuch, he directed his attention particularly to the *legislative* portions of the Hexateuch, which he studied in the light of the general history of the Hebrew religion. He started from Deuteronomy, as a fixed point, not older than Josias (641-610 B.C.), and established a comparison between its legislation and that expressed or implied in all the Hebrew literature. His conclusion was that the composite document known as J E shows evidence of being older than Deuteronomy, whereas the levitical and sacerdotal ordinances, which form the striking feature of the document P, are of a later date.

As Graf's "criticism depended on his view of legal and religious development in Israel, to the neglect of the tests afforded by literary style,"² he continued to rank the narrative portion of P among the earliest, while he assigned its legislative portion to the latest, parts of the Hexateuch. It was easy for Riehm and Nöldeke to show that any such

¹ Cfr. article *Pentateuch*, by Hermann STRACK, in Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*.

² ADDIS, loc. cit., p. xxxviii, footnote.

separation was untenable, and that both the narrative and the legislative portions of the Priestly Code are in the main from the same hand. In consequence, as Graf had maintained the view that the priestly legislation was later than the exile, in B.C. 586, so he admitted that the priestly narrative also, and hence the whole Priestly Code, was post-exilic.

These views were soon advocated by Duhm, "and especially, in 1874, by Kayser, who undertook a most careful analysis of the Pentateuch with reference to the Grafian theory, and gave it much needed support from the literary side."¹ Next, in 1876, came from Julius Wellhausen a series of articles on the composition of the Hexateuch, which aroused the attention of German scholars. They were followed, in 1878, by the first volume of Wellhausen's "History of Israel,"² which presented a most searching examination of the entire tradition of the Cultus, implying a comparison of the Pentateuchal codes with the historical records. To these were soon added, in the same spirit and direction, the leading works of Reuss entitled "*l'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*" (1879) and "*Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments*" (1881); and finally, in 1885, Kuenen's elaborate "Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch."

It may be said that the Graf-Wellhausen theory has carried the day. Its results have been popularized in England by W. Robertson Smith († 1894) in his "*Lectures on the Old Testament in the Jewish Church*," and in all English-speaking countries by their general admission into the ninth edition of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*." They are adopted by Driver in his "*Introduction to the Literature*

¹ BRIGGS. *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch* p. 93 sq.

² It was translated into English in 1885, under the title of "*Prolegomena to the History of Israel*."

of the Old Testament," and form the basis of the new edition of the Hebrew Lexicon of Gesenius, which he is preparing conjointly with C. A. Briggs and Francis Brown. They are embodied in nearly all the most recent works of Introduction to the Old Testament, and advocated by a host of able independent scholars in Germany, Holland, France, Great Britain and the United States.¹ Yea, even those who, following in the footsteps of Dillmann,—such scholars, for instance, as Kittel, Baudissin, Strack, etc.,—cling still to the Documentary theory exposed above, have felt in many ways the influence of the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis.²

On what general grounds, then, does this Development-Hypothesis rest? "The answer is twofold: (1) on a comparison of the documents with each other, and (2) on a comparison of the documents with history. The first yields the order J E, D, and P; the second leads to the negative result that D was unknown before the seventh century, and P not in existence in its present form before the Exile; while positively it connects D with a promulgation of sacred law under Josias in 622, and P with a similar promulgation by Esdras, the date commonly assigned being 444 B.C."³ As regards the rather intricate process of compilation and amalgamation whereby these four documents are supposed by Critics to have received their actual form in the Pentateuch, the student is referred to B. W. BACON, *Genesis of Genesis*, (Hartford, 1892), p. 65 sq.; W. H. BENNETT and W. A. ADENEY, *Biblical Introduction* (New York, 1899), pp. 24, 25; DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 116 sqq. (6th edit., New York, 1897); and finally, J. E. CARPENTER and G. H. BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch* (Longmans & Co., 1900), vol. i.

¹ The names of a fair number of them are given by BRIGGS, loc. cit., p. 94.

² Cf. ALDIS, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, pp. xl, xli. See also B. W. BACON, *Genesis of Genesis*, p. 66 sqq.

³ CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, vol. i, p. 69.

To complete this exposition of the Recent Theories attention must be called to two important facts. First, amid this sweeping current of Criticism, a certain number of Biblical scholars, even among non-Catholics, have continued to defend the traditional position. The best-known among Catholics are Abp. W. Smith, *The Pentateuch* (1868); Welte, J. P. Martin, Cornely, Trochon et Lesêtre, Vigou-roux, Schanz, Kaulen, etc.; among Protestants, Keil, Bissell, Green, and a few others. Apart from the fundamental *a priori* reasons, they insist on the unity of purpose recognizable in the Pentateuch, as implying unity of authorship, and consequently Mosaic authorship. In the second place, even among Catholic scholars who still admit that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch, there is a considerable divergence of views regarding the manner in which it should be understood; while a certain, and apparently a growing, number of them—such scholars, for instance, as Bickell, Von Hummelauer, S.J., in Germany; Von Hügel, Rob. Clarke, in England; Lagrange, O.P., in Jerusalem; Loisy, Robert, and others, in France, etc.—accept as solidly established many of the most important results of critical investigation.

Concluding Remarks.

In bringing to an end this short exposition of the opinions concerning the composition and authorship of the first six historical books of the Old Testament, or the Hexateuch as they are collectively called, the following lines of the *London Tablet*¹ deserve to be quoted: "Smart writing on the Higher Critics is comparatively easy; but if their conclusions are to be effectively refuted, it must be by some

¹ Saturday, April 20, 1895, p. 611. See also Feb. 23, 1901 (p. 281), where we read: "It is not safe to pooh-pooh the methods of the Higher Criticism. For, in fact, the author of the dissertation before us (Von Hummelauer, S.J., *Zum Deuteronomium*) makes the chief arguments of the critics his own, and employs methods, to say the least, very similar to theirs."

one who will go into the details of the case with the same diligence which has been employed on the other side." The time is unquestionably gone when Christian apologists could afford to treat lightly the prolonged and painstaking labors of generations of the best Hebrew scholars of the world. This is all the more true because, as clearly appears from the foregoing exposition of the Recent Theories, there has been an ever-growing agreement among them concerning the main positions assumed,¹ and also an ever-growing diminution of differences regarding points of any importance.²

It must be conceded, no doubt, that a certain number, or, rather, a comparatively small number, of the Higher Critics have been actuated throughout their work by a strong bias against Revelation; that such scholars have at times set forth arguments which had for chief support their unbelief in the possibility of miracles, and drawn rationalistic conclusions from the facts they appealed to. But these features were personal, and not necessarily connected with the critical analysis of the historical and legislative portions of Genesis-Josue. Hence it is that when their views were submitted to the test of unbiassed Critics, their irreligious

¹ As stated already, nearly all contemporary Critics recognize in the Hexateuch the combination of four principal documents, viz.: the Jehovistic or Judaic (J), the Elohist or Ephraimite (E), the Deuteronomist (D), and the Priestly Code (P); the relative antiquity of the first three is also generally agreed upon: the prophetic documents, J and E, are older than Deuteronomy, J and E being no later than about 750 B.C., and D than the reign of Josias (640-610 B.C.); only in connection with the Priestly Code is there a serious controversy; some maintain that as a whole, apart from editorial additions, it is post-exilic, while most admit that as a whole it was written before the Exile. "But those who regard P as post-exilic would admit that it is largely based on pre-exilic customs and rituals perhaps partly preserved in writing. Hence the difference between the two schools is not so striking as it seems at first sight. According to the one, P is pre-exilic, with post-exilic additions; according to the other, P is post-exilic, using pre-exilic sources. Both views would be included in the formula—P is a combination of pre-exilic and post-exilic material." (Bennett, *Biblical Introd.*, p. 24.)

² This is the impression naturally produced by the perusal of the works of leading contemporary Critics.

character was at once discounted, and their scientific value, if they had any, was the only element that received consideration. In fact, in the eyes of almost all the supporters of the Critical theories regarding the Hexateuch, the admission of several documents back of our sacred records appears as the best means to corroborate their historical character, and the ascribing of each one of them as near as possible to the age to which it really belongs, as the best help toward the correct understanding of the facts or laws recorded.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER II.

DIVISION I.—THE OPENING HISTORICAL BOOKS :

GENESIS—JOSUE.

Chapter II. Evidence in Favor of Traditional View concerning Authorship.

<p>I.</p> <p>AS REGARDS</p> <p>THE</p> <p>PENTATEUCH :</p>	<p>1. External</p> <p>Evidence :</p>	<p>(a) The Testimony of Christ :</p> <p>(b) The Tradition of the Jewish People.</p> <p>(c) The Testimony of the other Books of the O. Test. :</p>	<p>{ Why appealed to?</p> <p>{ How far conclusive ?</p>
			<p>{ Leading facts in-</p> <p>{ voked.</p> <p>{ Force of the Argu-</p> <p>{ ment.</p>
	<p>2. Internal</p> <p>Direct</p> <p>Evidence :</p>	<p>(a) Passages ascribing to Moses certain Sections :</p> <p>(b) Deuter. xxxi, 9, 24-26, ascribing to Moses the Writing of the Law, examined.</p>	<p>{ Natural Meaning.</p> <p>{ The Inference.</p>
<p>II.</p> <p>AS REGARDS</p> <p>THE BOOK</p> <p>OF JOSUE :</p>	<p>3. Internal</p> <p>Indirect</p> <p>Evidence :</p>	<p>(a) Impress of the Desert on Pentateuchal Legislation and History.</p> <p>(b) Acquaintance with Egyptian Religious Worship; Ancient Customs; Language; etc.</p> <p>(c) Absence of Personal Acquaintance with the Land of Chanaan.</p> <p>(d) Natural Growth of Pentateuchal Legislation according to Circumstances.</p> <p>(e) Hebrew Archaisms.</p>	
	<p>1. External</p> <p>Evidence :</p> <p>2. Internal</p> <p>Evidence :</p>	<p>The Tradition of Jews and Christians.</p> <p>The Author prior to David.</p> <p>The Writer an actual Witness of events recorded.</p> <p>The Writer may be Josue.</p> <p>Josue most likely the Author of the Book,</p>	

CHAPTER II.

EVIDENCE IN FAVOR OF TRADITIONAL VIEW CONCERNING AUTHORSHIP.

§ 1. *Evidence in Favor of Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch.*

I. External Evidence. Of all the arguments usually set forth in favor of the Traditional view concerning the Authorship of the Pentateuch, none has been more confidently appealed to than the positive testimony of Christ. It has been felt that such an authoritative statement on His part should settle at once the matter in the eyes of every Christian believer. "Nor can this appeal to Our Lord's authority," says H. P. Liddon,¹ "be regarded by a Christian as a species of an *a priori* argument, introduced in order to foreclose or arrest the more audacious efforts of unbiassed scholarship and free conjecture operating upon the sacred text. For His authority is as vital an element in the settlement of controverted matters respecting the Old Testament as is the science of language or the science of history. . . . The appeal to Him in these Old Testament questions really corresponds to a reference to an axiom in mathematics, or to a first principle in morals, when some calculation or discussion has for the time lost itself in details which shut out from view the original truth on which all really depends."

¹ The Worth of the Old Testament, second edit., p. 12 (Longmans, 1890).

In fact, this argument has been urged with great force by several able writers, among whom Abp. W. Smith¹ must be particularly mentioned. They have shown, to their own satisfaction, that on the lips of Our Lord, speaking in the hearing of His disciples and of His enemies, the expression "the Book of Moses," in St. Mark xii, 26, could have but one meaning, to wit, that which was universally received at the time, and which ascribed to Moses the authorship of the Pentateuch. To strengthen their position that "the book of Moses" is equivalent to "the book *written by* Moses," they have appealed, first, to the parallel passage in St. Luke xx, 37, where Christ attributes to Moses a section of the book of Exodus (iii, 1-iv, 17); next, to other passages where He apparently goes out of His way to ascribe to Moses different sections referring to history, prophecy and law, that is to the three kinds of general contents in the Pentateuch; and finally, to Our Lord's statement in St. John (v, 46, 47), where He says of Moses: "He wrote of Me. But if you do not believe his writings, how will you believe My words?"

While this argument can be presented in a very forcible manner,² and has appeared, as indeed it still appears, decisive to many Christian minds, it must be said that according to many others, no less reverent and sincere believers in the divine authority of Christ, the words by which He refers to the Pentateuch are consistent with non-Mosaic authorship. "Apart from the deep and mysterious question of Our Lord's knowledge as man," says pertinently the Protestant A. F. Kirkpatrick,³ "it is difficult to see how He could (with reverence be it said) have done otherwise in

¹ The Book of Moses, or the Pentateuch in its Authorship, etc., pp. 25-42.

² The strongest presentation of it will be found in the work of Abp. W. Smith referred to above.

³ The Divine Library of the Old Testament (Macmillan, 1891), p. 10.

literary matters than adopt the ordinary language of the time. He used, as we still use, popular and not scientifically accurate language with regard to natural phenomena such as the rising and setting of the sun.¹ And in like manner, it is difficult to see how He could have avoided using the language of tradition with regard to the nomenclature of the books of the Old Testament. If this is true as regards Our Lord, it will be true for the Evangelists and Apostles also. Inspiration did not supersede the current language of the day in such matters. There was nothing misleading in such usage at the time, but it must not be misunderstood and misapplied to hinder the freedom of reverent critical research.” And another scholar, whose Catholic orthodoxy cannot be questioned, the Rev. J. A. Howlett, O.S.B., after admitting that Our Lord’s words refer truly to the Pentateuch, under the name of Moses, writes:² “Are the words by which Jesus Christ refers to the Pentateuch inconsistent with non - Mosaic authorship? Clearly, the fact that Our Saviour cited the Law, under the name of Moses, is an argument not lightly to be set aside; but it does not seem decisive of the point. Many reasons have been adduced by modern writers to show this. We would here suggest another, which may perhaps be worth notice. Can we be always certain by what exact form of expression Our Saviour named the Pentateuch in His quotations? Does inspiration extend so far as to guide the sacred writer to tell us whether Our Lord referred to ‘the Law’ or ‘the Law of Moses’ or simply ‘Moses’? Certainly from the divergences already pointed out between different writers in narrating the same words of Jesus Christ, it would seem not; and if this be so, the argument loses much of its weight.”

¹ Cfr. Matt. v, 45 : xiii, 6.

² In the Dublin Review, for April 1893, p. 543 sq.

Other testimonies of similar import could easily be brought forth from both Catholic and Protestant sources ; ¹ but they would add but little to the reasons which have been adduced in the passages just quoted, and which make it difficult to regard Our Lord's words as a decisive argument in favor of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Besides, as this argument is not considered as conclusive by a host of scholars, irrespective of their belief or disbelief in the divine mission and character of Christ, defenders of the traditional view appeal to other external grounds to uphold their position.

Among these grounds is naturally numbered the tradition of the Jews, which is certainly reflected in the words of Our Saviour. It is universally admitted that in His day and for some centuries back, the various Jewish sects (Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes), the Jews of Palestine and those of the Eastern and Western Dispersion, whether in Europe, Africa or Asia, together with their fierce political and religious opponents, the Samaritans, were united in regarding Moses as the writer of the Pentateuch. Whence it is inferred that this community of view concerning the authorship of a book so important to the children of Abraham, since it contains their history and their laws,—political and religious,—and yet so humiliating for their national pride, since it details so freely the many weaknesses and crimes of their ancestors, must needs have a ground on fact. At no time, we are told, can it be reasonably supposed that such a book was palmed off as Mosaic upon the Jewish race; whereas, it can be readily seen that its genuineness, easily known from the beginning and faithfully handed down from generation to generation, fully accounts for the existence of this universal tradition of the Jews several centuries before Christ.

¹ Cfr., for instance, M. J. LAGRANGE, O.P., in "*Revue Biblique Internationale*," for 1898, p. 23; S. R. DRIVER, *Introd. to the Literature of the O. Test.*, 6th edit., p. 12 sq.; and B. W. BACON, *Genesis of Genesis*, p. 32 sq.

Such is the bare outline of an argument which was formerly urged with great vigor by the advocates of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch,¹ and which is still presented more briefly, it is true, but also more skilfully by such writers as Cornely, Kaulen, Vigouroux, etc. In fact, were it possible clearly to show that this external testimony of the Jewish people goes back near enough to the time of Moses, or at least that Jewish tradition never was over-ready to ascribe to the great men of Israel writings in the composition of which they had had but little or no part at all, the only right inference would be that the Jewish people cannot have been mistaken concerning the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But, as it seems to many, it is the very reverse that we have to admit here. On the one hand, the Jewish tradition appealed to goes back only to the fifth century B.C.,² so that many centuries, and indeed some of them, like the period of the Judges, marked by the greatest confusion and barbarity, of necessity intervened between the time of Moses and that in which the Jewish tradition comes clearly under the light of history. On the other hand, it is well known that the Jews have repeatedly evinced a tendency to start in favor of some of their great men, such as Esdras, Solomon, David, etc., a tradition representing them as the authors of literary works or the originators of institutions in which they had either no share at all or comparatively little.

It is not therefore surprising to find that, to render more probable their argument from the tradition of the Jewish people, recent advocates of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch add to it another drawn from the testimony of the other books of the Old Testament. They endeavor to trace backwards to the days of Moses that acquaintance

¹ Cfr., for instance, HENGSTENBERG, *On the Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, vol. i; and JAHN, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, Part ii, sect. i, chap. i, § 11.

² Cfr. Malachias iv, 4; Esdras vi, 18; Nehemias xiii, 1, etc.

with our present Pentateuch which existed certainly among the Jews in the time of Esdras and Nehemias. For this purpose, they appeal to numberless facts,¹ the leading ones of which can only be mentioned here. "After the long defection of Manasses and Amon," we are told,² "the neglected 'book of the Law by Moses'³ was found in the Temple, and the reformation of Josias was in obedience to its instructions. The passover of Ezechias was observed according to the prescriptions of 'the Law of Moses,'⁴ and, in general, Ezechias is commended for having kept 'the commandments which the LORD commanded Moses.'⁵ The ten tribes were carried away captive because they 'transgressed' what 'Moses commanded'⁶; King Amazias did 'as it is written in the book of the Law of Moses,' Deuter. xxiv, 16, being here quoted in exact terms. The high priest Joiada directed the ritual 'as it is written in the Law of Moses,'⁷ while appointing the singing as it was ordained by David; a discrimination which shows that there was no such legal fiction, as it has sometimes been contended, by which laws in general, even though recent, were attributed to Moses. David charged Solomon⁸ to keep what 'is written in the Law of Moses,' and a like charge was addressed by the LORD to David himself.⁹ Solomon appointed the ritual in his temple in accordance with 'the commandment c.

¹ This argument is set forth in detail by Abp. SMITH, *The Book of Moses or the Pentateuch in its Authorship*, etc., pp. 43-225. See also CORNELY, *Introductio*, vol. ii, pp. 49-57.

² W. H. GREEN, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, p. 34 sq. Cfr. JAHN, *Intr. to the Old Test.*, p. 187 sqq. (Engl. Transl.).

³ IV Kings xxii, 8; xxiii, 25; II Chronicles xxxiv, 14; xxxv, 6, 12.)

⁴ II Chron. xxx, 16.

⁵ IV Kings xviii, 6.

⁶ IV Kings xviii, 12.

⁷ IV Kings xiv, 6; II Chron. xxv, 4.

⁸ II Chron. xxxiii, 18.

⁹ III Kings ii, 3; I Chron. xxii, 13.

¹⁰ IV Kings xxi, 7, 8; II Chron. xxxiii, 8.

Moses.’¹ When the ark was taken by David to Sion, it was borne ‘as Moses commanded.’² Certain of the Canaanites were left in the land in the time of Josue, ‘to prove Israel by them, to know whether they would hearken unto the commandments of the LORD, which he commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses.’³ Josue was directed ‘to do all the law which Moses commanded,’ and was told that ‘the book of the law should not depart out of his mouth.’⁴ And in repeated instances it is noted with what exactness he followed the directions given by Moses.

“It is to be presumed, at least until the contrary is shown, that ‘the Law’ and ‘the Book of the Law’ have the same sense throughout as in the New Testament, as also in Josephus and in the Prologue to the Book of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus, where they are undeniably identical with the Pentateuch. The testimonies which have been reviewed show that this was from the first attributed to Moses. At the least, it is plain that the sacred historians of the Old Testament, without exception, knew of a body of laws which were universally obligatory and were believed to be the laws of Moses, and which answer in every particular to the laws of the Pentateuch.”

A few remarks will not be amiss in connection with this third argument. First of all, there is no doubt that it can be presented—as is usually done by defenders of the Mosaic authorship⁵—under a more complete form. But even then it does not seem that it would be greatly strengthened thereby. “We think it useless,” says the stanch advocate of the Mosaic authorship, Geerhardus Vos,⁶ “to prove posi-

¹ II Chron. viii, 13; I Chron. vi, 49.

² I Chron. xv, 15; cfr. II Kings vi, 12 sq.

³ Judges iii, 4.

⁴ Josue i, 7, 8.

⁵ Cfr. in particular W. SMITH, CORNELY, loc. cit.

⁶ The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes, p. 215 sqq.

tively from the historical books that, in the time of which they treat, the Pentateuchal Codes, or even, as Hengstenberg and others have attempted to demonstrate, the Pentateuch itself, existed. The direct testimonies collected from such passages as II Kings xxii, 23; III Kings ii, 3; vi, 12; viii, 53, are not of such character, or so numerous, but the critics (i.e., the opponents of the Mosaic authorship) can help themselves with the assumption of a few interpolations. References to civil or ceremonial usages of similar character to those described in the Codes do not prove that the latter existed; for all the critics admit, e.g., that the ritual was pre-exilic in substance, though not codified before the Exile. Only manifest verbal quotations would help; but these, again, are not numerous enough to warrant general and decisive conclusions: and very seldom is the relation of two passages such that it permits only one view concerning their interdependence. We do not mean to say that the traces of the existence of a ritual, as they appear in the historical books, have no right to speak in this matter, but simply that they are no decisive proofs of the existence of the Pentateuchal Codes."¹

In the second place, there is no doubt, too, that, as is often done by writers who admit the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, testimonies similar to those which have been adduced from the historical books distinct from the Law of Moses, could be quoted from the prophets both of Juda and of Israel. But it is plain enough that these additional testimonies would not be of much avail. To them also the foregoing remarks of Vos would fully apply, so that, even combined with the testimonies of the historical books, they do not seem to offer a sufficient basis for a decisive conclu-

¹ Of course, if these testimonies do not afford decisive proof of the genuineness of the legislative parts of the Pentateuch, taken separately, still less can they be regarded as proving conclusively the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch.

sion regarding the genuineness of the Pentateuch as maintained by the traditional view.

Lastly, it may be admitted, with several leading Catholic scholars of the day,¹ that these various testimonies can be just as well, not to say better, accounted for by regarding them as having direct reference, not to the Pentateuch in its present form, but simply to sources oral and written, some of them going back to the time of Moses, others justly called "Mosaic" in the course of ages, because, though posterior to the time of this great lawgiver, yet they were composed in the spirit of, and as a continuation to, his actual historical and legislative work. In fact, French jurists and historians and preachers when speaking of the Code NAPOLEON, usually, and rightly, mean thereby a system of laws which every one of them knows fully should not be exclusively attributed to the first emperor who bore that name.²

2. Internal Direct Evidence. But external evidence is not the only means to get direct information concerning the author of a book, for the book itself may contain explicit declarations regarding its author. This is direct internal evidence, and, as might well be expected, it also is appealed to in support of the traditional view respecting the authorship of the Pentateuch.

What, then, has the Pentateuch itself to say about its author? Its first testimony is found in the book of Exodus xvii, 14, where we read: "And Yahweh said to Moses: Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Josue: for I will destroy the memory of Amalec

¹ Cfr. art. The Church and the Bible, by VON HÜGEL, in the Dublin Review for April 1895. See also LAGRANGE in *Revue Biblique* for 1898, p. 22.

² The remarks in CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch* (p. 19 sq.), tending to show how "the indications of subsequent literature suggest that Moses was only gradually connected by tradition with the production of a continuous body of legislation," deserve perusal.

from under heaven." These words clearly imply that Moses was acquainted with the art of writing and could use a book for recording various transactions; but they do not tell us what particular book he might have used for recording either Amalec's attack against Israel, or simply Jehovah's decree to blot Amalec out of the face of the earth.¹ In fact, the reading of the passage in the light of its impersonal form and of its context would rather suggest that the writer of this section of Exodus is distinct from Moses, and simply refers to the divine command given to Moses to write a record of the event and to narrate it "in the ears of Josue," as his ultimate source of information.²

The second passage of the Pentateuch usually quoted in favor of its Mosaic authorship is also found in the book of Exodus (xxiv, 4), and reads as follows: "And Moses wrote all the words of Yahweh." Here we are plainly told that Moses, Israel's lawgiver, "wrote" something, and that what he wrote extends to "all the words of Yahweh." This latter expression, especially in view of the context (cfr. verses 3 and 7), is almost universally understood as referring to the section xx, 22-xxiii, 33 in Exodus; and it is indeed difficult to see how more information could be got from the words: "Moses wrote all the words of Yahweh."

The third statement appealed to as bearing witness to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is still less cogent, if anything, in favor of the traditional view. It is found in Exodus xxxiv, 27, where we read: "And Yahweh said to Moses: Write thee these words by which I have made a covenant both with thee and with Israel." This passage,

¹ The present Hebrew Text may also be rendered: "Write this for a memorial in the book, and rehearse it in the ears of Josue: *that* I will destroy the memory of Amalec from under heaven."

² ROBERT, Réponse à L'Encyclique et les Catholiques Anglais et Américains, p. 52, suggests that the book spoken of in Exodus xvii, 14, is the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh."

like the first one quoted above, does not positively affirm that the great lawgiver of Israel wrote the words of the covenant,¹ while, like the second one, it leaves us in uncertainty as regards the precise section of our Pentateuch which may be referred to by "the words after the tenor of which" God made a covenant with the Jewish people. It is very likely, however, that the section thus referred to is simply Exod. xxxiv, 10-26, which describes the renewal of the divine covenant after the people's first apostasy.

Hardly more telling for the traditional view is the passage in the book of Numbers (xxxiii, 1, 2) which reads thus: "These are the journeys of the children of Israel by which they went out of Egypt by their troops under the conduct of Moses and Aaron; and Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of Yahweh: and these are their journeys according to their goings out." Here we are certainly told that Moses wrote down the various encampments of Israel; but the passage reads no less certainly as if its author was different from Moses and had simply embodied in his own work a Mosaic document. And further, the section which is generally regarded as ascribed here to Moses does not extend beyond verses 3-49 of chapter xxxiii in the book of Numbers.

It is true that some defenders of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch have endeavored to show that these four statements, which are found in only two of its books (Exodus and Numbers), form a sufficient basis for inferring the Mosaic authorship of the whole work.² However plausible their reasoning may appear, it is plain that its conclu-

¹ The statement: "he wrote upon the tables the ten words of the covenant," which is found in the next verse (Exod. xxxiv, 28), refers probably not to Moses, but to Yahweh as the actual writer (cfr. Exod. xxxiv, 1; Deuter. x, 1, 4).

² Cfr., for instance, Abp. SMITH, *The Pentateuch*, p. 240 sq.; CORNELY, *Introd.* in *U. T. libros*, vol. ii, p. 41; W. H. GREEN, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, p. 38 sqq.

sion has far greater extension than its premises. The natural meaning of the four passages under consideration is the one stated above, and it gives to Moses the authorship of at most a few short sections.¹

But there is a last testimony, all the more carefully to be weighed because it has long been, and is still, the one most confidently set forth as bearing explicit witness to the Mosaic authorship of the whole Law. It is contained in two parallel passages of the book of Deuteronomy, which are here placed side by side:

CHAP. XXXI, 9.

And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it to the priests the sons of Levi, who bore the ark of the covenant of Yahweh, and to all the ancients of Israel.

CHAP. XXXI, 24-26.

And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that he commanded the Levites, who bore the ark of the covenant of Yaweh, saying: Take this book of the law, etc.

In favor of the traditional view that "this law," the words of which Moses is said to have written in a book until they were finished, cannot be limited to mean simply Deuteronomy, but must be extended also to the other books of the Pentateuch, it has been urged: (1) that the exegetical tradition of the Jews thus understood it, as shown by Nehem. viii, 13-18, compared with Deuter. xxxi, 9-12; (2) that Deuter. xxxi, 9 must use the expression "this law" in the same sense as Deuter. i, 5, where it refers to a law already in existence, since Moses is represented as about to expound it, and apparently also to the Law contained in the preceding books (cfr. Deuter. i, 1); (3) that Deuteronomy itself recognizes a prior legislation binding upon Israel (iv, 5, 14; xxix, 1; xvii, 9-11; xxiv, 8; xxvii, 26, which affirms as

¹ This is the view of Father VAN DEN BIESEN (Dublin Rev., Oct. 1892, p. 267); of Father LAGRANGE, O.P.; and of most contemporary scholars.

"words of this law" the antecedent curses (verses 15-25), some of which are based on laws peculiar to Leviticus); (4) that in the book of Josue (i, 8) "this book of the Law" refers plainly to the same Mosaic work as in Deuter. xxxi, 9, 24 sqq., and must be coextensive with it; now the contents of "the book of the Law" spoken of in Josue i, 7 sqq., as comprising "all the law which Moses had commanded," were not limited to Deuteronomy (Josue i, 13 sqq.; iv, 12; xxii, 2 sqq., are drawn from Numb. xxxii; v, 2 from Genesis xvii, 10; xviii, 4 from Exod. xxix 42; etc.).¹

For the opposite view, which sees in the statements of Deuter. xxxi, 9, 24 sqq., simply references to the book of Deuteronomy,—and even not to the entire book,—and which is the opinion of almost all contemporary scholars, the following grounds are usually set forth: (1) when carefully read, these testimonies of Deuter. xxxi appear very much like statements, not by Moses, Israel's great lawgiver, but from the hand of a later writer who rewrote the great Deuteronomic discourse of Moses, and indicates the source whence he had it; (2) it is plain from other passages, such as i, 5; iv, 8, that "this law," "this book of the Law," does not refer back to a legislation already contained in the books that precede Deuteronomy, but to that which Moses is represented as expounding;² (3) it is self-evident that the command in Deuter. xxvii, 8, to write "all the words of this law" upon the stones to be set up on the top of Mount Ebal, a command which we find recorded as carried out in Josue viii, 30 sqq., refers not to the whole Pentateuch, nay, not even to the whole book of Deuteronomy;

¹ For detailed information concerning these grounds for traditional view, see Abp. SMITH, loc. cit., pp. 45-55, 232 sqq.; CORNELV, loc. cit., pp. 41-47; KEIL, *Introd. to O. T.*, vol. i, p. 161 sqq. (Eng. Transl., T. T. Clark, edit.).

² This inference is based chiefly on the limitation "which I set before you this day," added in Deut. iv, 8, to the expression "this Law"; so that the words "this Law," in Deut. i, 5, etc., point not backwards but forwards (cfr. DELITZSCH, *New Commentary on Genesis*, vol. i, p. 22 sq. New York, Scribners, 1889).

(4) "the Law" is described as consisting of "precepts and judgments" (in Deuter. v, 1), and appears formally to begin in xii, 1: "These are the precepts and judgments that you must do in the land which Yahweh, the God of thy fathers, hath given thee to possess it. . . ." Leaving aside now the fact that the law appears to have existed orally before it was written (xxviii, 58, 61; xxix, 20, 27; xxx, 10), it is sufficient to observe that its announcement is still in the future in iv, 8, so that it cannot include more than the discourses and commands comprised in v-xxx; (5) finally, in Deuter. xxviii, 69 (in Vulgate xxix, 1), "the words of the Covenant" made by Yahweh's order in the land of Moab, i.e., the Deuteronomic Code, are expressly distinguished from "the Covenant which He made with them [the children of Israel] at Horeb," and which is recorded in the middle books of the Pentateuch (Exod., Leviticus, Numb.): the law, therefore, which Moses is said to have written in a book did not include the legislation contained in the books which precede Deuteronomy.

From the examination of the arguments which have just been stated for both positions, it results that the reasons adduced to prove that the words of Deuteronomy do not really ascribe to Moses the whole of the Pentateuch are indeed strong. It is true, as well pointed out by A. F. Kirkpatrick,¹ that "the expressions in Deuter. xxxi, 9 sqq., 24 sqq., at first sight may seem to attribute the writing of the whole Pentateuch to Moses. A closer examination, however, shows that they cannot refer even to the whole of Deuteronomy. It is said that he *wrote the words of this law in a book* (xxx, 24; cfr. verses 9, 26), but exactly similar language is used when it is evident that the reference cannot be to the whole law, or even to the whole of Deuteronomy. It is plain, for example, that the command to

¹ The Divine Library of the Old Testament, p. 43 (Macmillan, New York. 1891).

write *all the words of this law* upon the stones which were to be set up on Mount Ebal (xxvii, 3) can only refer to a nucleus of the law, perhaps no more than the Ten Commandments." Indeed, the arguments advanced in favor of the second position have appeared so strong to some who consider the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as solidly established on other grounds, that they have either frankly admitted that the words of Deuter. xxxi are "no direct argument for the Mosaic authorship of the other Codes,"¹ or regarded them simply as "a doubtful" evidence that Moses wrote the books distinct from Deuteronomy.²

In concluding this brief review of the direct Internal Evidence in favor of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, we cannot do better than to quote the careful statements of Father Van den Biesen, in the Dublin Review for October 1892, although they bear not on the Pentateuch alone, but also on Josue. After reciting the passages³ appealed to as giving direct testimony to authorship, he says: "These, then, are the only places throughout the whole Hexateuch where mention is made of its author. Silence, indeed, does not imply a negation; yet it is difficult to find a satisfactory reason why to these sections rather than to any other section of the Hexateuch Moses or Josue should have attached the notice that they were the authors of them. When, moreover, these notices are carefully read, they begin to appear very much like statements, not by Moses or Josue, but from the hand of a later writer. . . . For instance, the first and natural impression which the reader receives from the statement 'and Moses wrote this

¹ G. Vos, *Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes*, p. 183.

² W. H. GREEN, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, p. 37, note.

³ These are the passages which have been quoted above. To these, however, Father VAN DEN BIESEN adds Josue xxiv, 26, because he is treating of "the Authorship and Composition of the *Hexateuch*."

law and delivered it unto the priests'¹ is not that Moses here speaks of himself, but that a later writer, who rewrote the great Deuteronomic discourse of Moses, indicates the source whence he had it. Dr. Driver in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* most truly remarks that because Moses could have used the third person, it does not follow that he must have used it. From what has been said it appears that the Pentateuch and Josue are far from claiming the antiquity and unity which tradition formerly assigned to it. Those therefore who attribute the whole Torah to Moses, and Josue's book to Josue, cannot appeal to the [direct] evidence of the Hexateuch itself. More than the Mosaic origin of certain sections in Exodus and Numbers, and of the greater part of Deuteronomy (chaps. v-xxviii), cannot be recommended by this appeal."

3. Internal Indirect Evidence. While direct internal evidence supplies the defenders of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch with only a scanty and unsatisfactory testimony regarding the author of the first five books of the Old Testament, indirect internal evidence provides them with a cumulative argument which appears all the more cogent because it is of that description which is chiefly used in Higher Criticism. This accounts for the fact that they have enlarged upon it far more than upon any other,² and also for the comparatively extensive manner in which we shall set it forth in the following pages.

The first link in this argument is concerned with Pentateuchal legislation and history, and tends to show how both the one and the other bear naturally the impress of the

¹ Deuter. xxxi, 9.

² Cf. particularly Abp. SMITH, *loc. cit.*, pp. 247-375; CORNELY, *Introd.*, vol. ii, pp. 57-67; VIGOUROUX, *Livres Saints et Critique Rationaliste*, vol. iii, pp. 34-130 (3d edit., Paris, 1890); R. V. FRENCH, *Lex Mosaica*, pp. 21 sqq.; KAULEN, *Einleitung*, etc.

Desert, that is, of the peculiar place of their composition. First of all, as regards the *legislation* of the Pentateuch, it is plain that it shows largely the marks of a wandering desert life.¹ The central institution of the nation's external worship is the Tabernacle, round which are grouped not only the tribes in their encampments,² but all the ordinances of the Aaronic ritual. Now the Tabernacle is just the tent of Yahweh, the dwelling-place made for Him by a people who had only tents themselves to live in; and consequently it could not have arisen in the fixed settlements either of Egypt or of Chanaan. Its position in the centre of the camp is exactly that of the sheikh's pavilion surrounded by the dark tents of his nomad hordes. Its materials are partly those brought from Egypt, partly those found in the wilderness where the children of Israel were, such as the setim-wood, which could be found nowhere in sufficient abundance but in Egypt and the Arabian desert.³

The Tabernacle implies, among other things, the existence of a body of ministers, who had there to perform the public religious services when it was stationary, and to take it down, transport and set it up again when it had to shift quarters together with the camp. These ministers were the Levites, and their constitution as the sacred tribe is so remarkably in unison with the nomadic state of the Hebrews after their going out of Egypt that it is impossible to assign it to any other period. By birth, Ruben, the first-born, had every claim to the priesthood. That Levi became, instead of Ruben, the sacred tribe, can be due to no one else than Moses while in the desert. For no other reason than that Moses, with the divine sanction, wielded the plenitude of

¹ In the following exposition of the direct internal evidence, the text of Abp. Smith's valuable work on the Pentateuch will be freely utilized, and only the other authorities will be explicitly mentioned when statements are borrowed from them.

² Numb. ii, 1-34.

³ Cfr. Exod. xxv-xxxii.

power, and bestowed upon his own tribe, when in the midst of critical circumstances they proved loyal to him beyond all others, the special honors marked out for them by Yahweh, can it be explained that Ruben made no protest against an action which deprived him for ever of the supreme power in religious affairs.¹ On the other hand, the peculiar position of the Levites immediately after the settlement is unintelligible without supposing that Moses, acting in virtue of a divine command received before the partition of Chanaan, could have reconciled that sacred tribe to their lack-land dependence on the justice, to say nothing of the generosity, of their countrymen.²

Hence, all the essential laws on the levitical order, office and revenue are part of the organization of the State begun and completed in the desert. To Moses, therefore, must be ascribed the indispensable regulations about Levitical revenue in Numbers xviii, 8-32, and Levit. xxvii, 1-33. The arrangements, too, in Numbers iii, iv, for the transport of the Tabernacle and its furniture by the Levites are such as are conceivable only among a migratory people, and they make such frequent allusion to the camp (iv, 5), to the desert (iii, 23, 29, 35, 38), to Aaron (iii, 10, 32, 38, etc.), as stamp them indelibly with the characteristics of the time.

The same thing must be said of the great laws relative to sacrifice, in the first chapters of Leviticus. The whole group of these prescriptions supposes the desert and camp as the place of sacrifice,³ and Aaron and his sons as the sacrificers.⁴ These expressions and allusions cannot be eliminated without altering the entire substance of the laws. Consequently these laws must have originated at the time of the Exodus.

¹ Cfr. Numb. xvi, 1-34.

² This appears all the more probable because in Egypt the priesthood were the great proprietors, and their lands considered as absolutely sacred.

³ Levit. iv, 12, 21; vi, 4.

⁴ Levit. i, 5, 7, 8; ii, 2, 3, 10, etc.

The ceremonial of the great day of Atonement belonged to the high priest. Its forms are laid down in Levit. xvi for all time coming. And yet their wording bears an unmistakable impress of their origin. It is the living *Aaron* (verses 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, etc.) who is spoken of; it is into the *wilderness* that the scapegoat is to be let loose (10, 21, 22); it is from the *camp* that the minister is to set out with the goat (26); out of the *camp* that the calf and goat for the sin-offering are to be carried (27), and back to the *camp* the bearers are to return (28).

Finally, a further proof that the Mosaic code belongs exclusively to the wilderness is found in the proximity of the Tabernacle to every member of the nation which is supposed (1) in the laws of Levit. xv, 2-33; (2) in those which regulate the Nazarite vow;¹ (3) in the law on purification after childbirth;² etc., etc.

In the second place, the *history* contained in the Pentateuch displays the closest acquaintance with the Desert of the Exodus, and thus proves its origin in the midst of the Arabian desert. Only one of the wanderers of the Exodus could have mastered to that extent the topography, productions and other peculiarities of the Sinaitic wilderness. The actual features of the desert enter simply into the incidental details of the journey and are exhibited with absolute truthfulness to nature. And yet, the Sinaitic peninsula is not such as to bear the coloring that might have been borrowed from any other place on the globe. Invention could not have supplied the details. Modern travellers are invariably struck with the accuracy of the description in the Pentateuch;³ and each one has generally something new to record

¹ Numb. vi, 1-21.

² Levit xii.

³ Cfr. E. ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, vol. i, p. 66 sqq.; A. P. STANLEY, *Sinai and Palestine*; E. H. PALMER, *The Desert of the Exodus*; S. C. BARTLETT, *From Egypt to Palestine*; F. VIGOUROUX, *La*

concerning some overlooked correspondence of the author's narrative with the features of the place. Illustrations without number could easily be adduced, especially in connection with the different journeys from Egypt to the border of Chanaan; but only a few can be pointed out here. Thus the encampment at Mara, where "the waters were bitter,"¹ clearly corresponds to Hawarah, where "a spring is so bitter that neither men nor camels could drink of it," says a modern traveller.² The station at the Red Sea immediately following that at Elim³ was a source of perplexity to ancient commentators. They could not understand how, after leaving the Red Sea, the Israelites should come back upon it on their road to Mt. Sinai, which lay in the heart of the peninsula. And yet modern travellers show that at this point it was a necessity in their line of march. "We were all struck," says one of them,⁴ "with the indirect but remarkable coincidence of Holy Scripture with the topography of this day's march. No person but a writer well acquainted with the geography of these parts would, like Moses, have brought the Israelites again upon the Red Sea, by a line of march so devious, but so necessary on account of the mountains and Wadies, as that which we have to-day pursued." The coincidences between the description of Mt. Sinai in the book of Exodus⁵ and that given in the many accounts of modern travellers are so numerous, so striking, and at the same time so well known, that it would be waste of time to insist on them here; in fact,⁶ they are such that

Bible et les Découvertes Modernes; H. A. HARPER, Bible and Modern Discoveries; A. H. SAYCE, The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments, etc.

¹ Exod. xv, 22 sqq.

² Dr. GRAUL, quoted by STANLEY, in Sinai and Palestine, p. 37, note 3 (New York, 1859).

³ Numb. xxxiii, 10.

⁴ Jno. WILSON, Lands of the Bible, i, 180 (quoted by Abp. SMITH, p. 352).

⁵ Chaps. xix, xxxii.

⁶ See a few of them pointed out in my "Outlines of Jewish History," p. 74 sq.

Dean Stanley¹ could not help considering them as “a strong internal argument of the scene itself having been described by an eye-witness.”

The manna spoken of in Exodus (xvi) seems to point to the same conclusion, because, although the Biblical manna was clearly different from the Arabian, yet *manna* is the indigenous name, and probably was so in the time of Moses also, for the tamarisk-gum of the Tarfa tree is in the Sinaitic peninsula. The enormous flight of quails which appeared first on the same occasion as the manna, is also in keeping with the desert. In spring and summer they are frequently seen, and the peculiarity of their settling down in the evening² is noticed by Pliny.³ Again, the wood of which the Tabernacle is to be made is the setim-wood, the one prevalent tree of Sinaitic Wadies, and the only solid tree of sufficient size to furnish the boards as prescribed. The author, as one writing on the scene, does not think of stating whence came all the timber needed. And yet it afterwards became quite a puzzle to the learned Jews, who, to account for it, imagined that Jacob had planted it in Egypt, whence the needful supply was brought by the Israelites in their flight. Finally, the game of the wilderness—like the chamois—is included among the clean animals of the Law.

From these and other such particulars we may gather that the writer of the Wanderings was thoroughly acquainted with the topography and peculiarities of the Sinaitic Peninsula.

The second link in the cumulative argument drawn from Indirect Internal Evidence, consists in the fact that the

¹ Sinai and Palestine, p. 42 sq.

² Exod. xvi, 12.

³ Cfr. art. Caille, in VIGOUROUX, Diction. de la Bible; and narratives of modern travellers already referred to.

laws and institutions, etc., of the Pentateuch are so strongly impregnated with Egyptian memories that nothing can account for this peculiarity but their origin amid the fulness of such reminiscences.

As if the whole national life, moral, religious, and political, were essentially bound up with these remembrances, the foundation of the entire covenant-law is solemnly proclaimed to be the fact that Yahweh had brought them out of Egyptian bondage,¹ and this idea runs through the whole code.² The original law on the pasch and feast of unleavened bread is inseparable from the midnight exodus.³ The gentle treatment of strangers is powerfully enforced by an appeal to their own bitter experience of the stranger's lot in Egypt.⁴ It seems to have been the manifold nature of Egyptian superstitions that suggested the peculiar wording of the commandment on idolatry.⁵

Strange though it may appear, there is much in the *outward ceremonial* of the Levitical worship that indicates an Egyptian type. Thus, the ark of Yahweh is the counterpart of the shrine of Amun-Ra; the priestly dress is borrowed from Egypt, and more particularly the high priest's tunic as regards its make and form. In like manner, the Urim and Thummim in the breastplate of the high priest; the holy convocations; the form of the altar for burnt-offerings; the parts of the victims considered as the choice and reserved portions; the ceremonies of the day of Atonement; etc., etc., remind one of Egyptian religious worship.

Pentateuchal history, no less than Pentateuchal legislation, is stamped with a distinct, minute and perfectly accurate knowledge of Egypt, and such a knowledge can be

¹ Exod. xx, 2.

² Exod. xxiii, 15; xxix, 46; Levit. xi, 45; xix, 36, etc.; Numb. xv, 41.

³ Exod. xii, 12, 17, 23, etc.

⁴ Exod. xxii, 21; Levit. xix, 34.

⁵ Exod. xx, 4.

accounted for only by admitting that the writer long resided in the midst of that exclusive nation. Let any one study in detail the history of Joseph, the Sojourn and the Exodus of the Israelites¹ in their connection with Egypt, and the more closely he will pursue his examination, the more also will he find that the narrator was thoroughly acquainted with Egyptian geography, natural productions, seasons of vegetable growth and maturity, etc. His incidental allusions to the customs of Egypt, in particular, touch upon minute details of the political, social, domestic, moral and religious life of that country, and yet they are invariably found accurate when they are confronted with the numerous discoveries made in Egypt during the nineteenth century. Yea, more, as repeatedly urged by Egyptologists, the sacred writer shows "knowledge of Egypt in its condition under the Ramessides (i.e., about the time of Moses), and his minute accuracy is inconsistent with any later date."²

It is also a remarkable fact that the only foreign words found in the Pentateuch are of Egyptian origin. The writer's acquaintance with the language of Egypt appears not only from his familiar use of Egyptian terms, but also from the correctness of his orthography when he uses them. In the mouth of the Hebrews so long in contact with the indigenous population many Egyptian terms were naturally current, and their use here and there throughout the narrative indicates the author's long residence in the country, while their correct representation in Hebrew letters bespeaks a man carefully educated, as Moses is represented to have been.³

But while the writer of the Pentateuch shows himself

¹ Gen. xxix-Exod. xv.

² S. R. POOLE, in *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1887, p. 361. Cfr. also VIGOUROUX, *Bible et Découvertes Modernes*, vol. ii; Herman V. HILPRECHT, *Recent Research in Bible Lands*, p. 9 sqq.; R. V. FRENCH, *Lex Mosaica*, p. 22 sqq.; etc.

³ Cfr. Acts vii, 22.

thoroughly acquainted, from personal observation, with Egypt and the Desert, he is by no means so minutely informed about the Land of Chanaan: and this forms the third distinct link in the chain of indirect internal evidence for Mosaic authorship. It is plain, first of all, that the author is not in Chanaan when he writes, since many of his laws look toward the settlement in the Land of Promise as something yet to come,¹ and since he frequently uses the phrase "in the Land of Chanaan" when speaking in his own person of places well known to all the inhabitants. Thus he speaks of "Hebron, in the land of Chanaan,"² as the place where Sara died, precisely as Jacob does, when he was in Egypt.³ So also of "Sichem, which is in the Land of Chanaan."⁴ Historians do not write so of distinguished places belonging to their native country, much less when they write for their own fellow countrymen actually living on the spot. But, more particularly, there is nothing in the entire work to show that minute knowledge of the country which results from personal examination; and we find only such as Moses could have obtained from the old traditions, written documents of the nation, from the accounts either private or official of the Egyptians, and from the forty days' careful exploration of the spies.⁵ This appears from the general terms in which the boundaries of Chanaan are laid down in Numbers xxxiv, 1-12, so inferior in detail (particularly the northern limit) to those given after the conquest.⁶ Finally, many details go to prove that the writer of the Pentateuch supposes his readers far less acquainted with Chanaan than he is.⁷

¹ Cfr. Exod. xii, 25-27; xiii, 1-14; xxiii, 20-33, etc.; Levit. xiv, 34-57; xviii, 3-30; xix, 23-37, etc.; Numb. xv, 2-41; xviii, 20, 24; etc., etc.

² Gen. xxxiii, 2, 19.

³ Gen. xlix, 30.

⁴ Gen. xxv, 6.

⁵ Numb. xiii, 18-20.

⁶ Josue xv, 1-5, 21-32; xiii, 4-6.

⁷ Cfr. Gen. xiv, 2, 7, 17; xxiii, 2; etc., etc.

As a confirmation of the foregoing argument, the defenders of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch endeavor to show how the Pentateuchal legislation was gradually called forth by circumstances in the nomad life of Israel. This legislation is so interwoven with the nomad history of the Hebrew nation that we can watch it actually unfolding itself before our eyes, because many of its regulations spring forth from the passing incidents of the time, while others appear impressed indelibly with the marks of their historic origin.

The midnight of the Exodus is the starting-point; and that is needed as the historical explanation of the Pasch, of Yahweh's appropriation of the first-born, and of the feast of the unleavened bread: three things which wrought themselves intimately into the whole Hebrew system,¹ and must have taken their rise in the circumstances detailed in the narrative.

As the journey proceeds, so laws originate from the accidents of the way. In the interval between the Egyptian pasch and the first one celebrated in the Desert, a law had been passed² removing from the camp those who were polluted by a dead body. The consequence was that some individuals, in these circumstances,³ were excluded from the second pasch. In the collision of two separate laws, one requiring that *all* should celebrate the pasch, another incapacitating some persons from keeping it, Moses received particular instructions from Yahweh how to act: thus arose the law providing for an additional pasch a month after the first.⁴ The laws regulating the succession to property furnish an example of the same kind.⁵ The prohibition of blasphemy is contained in Exodus xxii, 28. In the course

¹ Exod. xiii.

² Numb. v, 2.

³ Numb. ix, 6.

⁴ Numb. ix, 10-14.

⁵ Numb. xxvi, 52-56; xxvii, 8-11; xxxvi, 1-9.

of time some one is convicted of blasphemy. On looking into the law, it is found that no penalty is attached to the crime, notwithstanding its enormity. The guilty man is therefore imprisoned¹ until they can ascertain what is to be done. Yahweh directs Moses to promulgate a general law for the stoning of a blasphemer.² In like manner, the misconduct of Nadab and Abiu was the occasion of another universal ordinance.³

This character of the Pentateuchal legislation appears still more manifest, we are told, when we compare the Deuteronomic laws with those of the middle books. In Exodus and Leviticus, when the Israelites are always near the Tabernacle, we do not find stated that the yearly festivals should be celebrated before the Tabernacle: such a prescription would have been useless. But this prescription is *added* in Deuter. xvi, 5 sqq., because after the settlement the Israelites might naturally be tempted not to appear before the Lord on these three occasions. On the contrary, the law of Levit. xvii, 3-5, compelling all to slay at the door of the Tabernacle the sacrificial animals of every-day use for the table, is *abrogated* in Deuter. xii, 15, because it will cease to be adapted to the fixed settlements which Israel was on the point of acquiring in Chanaan. The same thing may be said of the *actual* appointment of the Cities of Refuge on the east of Jordan⁴ after the settlement of the three Transjordanic tribes, while in Exodus and Numbers Cities of Refuge have simply been promised.

Thus it becomes evident that the Pentateuchal legislation bears the impress of laws framed to meet circumstances as they occurred during the nomad life of Israel, and modified

¹ Levit. xxiv, 12.

² Ibid., verses 15, 16.

³ Levit. x 8-11.

⁴ Deuter. iv, 41.

or abrogated when other circumstances required it. In both cases, this points to an epoch, to say the least, contemporaneous with the great Lawgiver of the Hebrew people.

As a last argument drawn from Indirect Internal Evidence, it has been maintained by the advocates of the Mosaic authorship that we find in the Pentateuch archaic words and grammatical forms which point to its Mosaic origin, since a large number of them are no longer found even in Josue. For instance, the form הָיָה stands in the Pentateuch 197 times for the feminine, and נָעַר occurs 19 times for both genders, etc.; and this, together with harder sounds, defective modes of writing, unusual formations of stems, forms subsequently used only in poetry, etc., tends to show that the language of the Pentateuch constitutes a distinct, archaic, period in the Hebrew language. Besides, many words and phrases occur in the Pentateuch which are peculiar to it, while many peculiar to later books are never found in it; and many which are frequently used in the first five books of the Old Testament are elsewhere of rare occurrence, and *vice versa*.¹

Such is the bare outline of the cumulative argument which defenders of the traditional view concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch have drawn from indirect internal evidence. The argument was elaborately set forth for the first time by Abp. Smith in 1868, and has since then appeared conclusive to many minds. And yet its proving force is either questioned or actually rejected by the bulk of contemporary scholars. In point of fact, some of its parts when closely examined do not seem to be solidly established. This is the case, for instance, with the archaic forms appealed to in favor of the Mosaic authorship, and

¹ Cfr. JAHN, *Intro. to the Old Test.*, p. 177 sq. (Engl. Transl.); VIGOUROUX, *Man. Biblique*, vol. i, n. 247; G. BICKELL, *Outlines of Heb. Grammar*, p. 5, § 6 (Engl. Transl.); Abbé GRAFFIN, *Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques*, Paris, 1838.

also with the intricate system of legislation contained in the Pentateuch : for further studies have disproved the very high antiquity claimed for those archaic forms,¹ and it is, to say the least, difficult to admit that the nomad life of Israel truly afforded their great leader opportunities for framing such an intricate and complete religious and moral code of laws as is embodied in the Pentateuch.² Again, while the other parts of the argument prove conclusively that our Pentateuch contains elements which must be referred to Mosaic times (oral traditions faithfully preserved, written documents simply imbedded, and the like), they do not seem to bear out the view that our entire Pentateuch—with the exception of a few later additions—should be considered as the work of Moses, all the more so because, as admitted on all hands, Oriental writers are, generally speaking, *compilers* who arrange pre-existing documents.³ All the facts invoked in this cumulative argument would at most prove the following position : “ The Pentateuch is the product of the religious development among the chosen people from Moses down to the time of the Babylonian Exile on the basis of regulations which were written down by Moses, and which in bulk and importance form by far the greatest part of the Old Testament Codes ”; ⁴ and yet this position is far from the conclusion which the defenders of the traditional view would have us infer from the facts to which they appeal. Finally, this manner of interpreting the data supplied by indirect internal evidence appears to many

¹ Cfr. particularly A. LOISY, *l'Enseignement Biblique*, for 1892, p. 51 sq. See also the admission of CORNELY, *Introd.*, vol. ii, p. 66 sq.

² “ Es muss,” says very pertinently Father G. HOBURG, “ als eine absolute Unmöglichkeit gelten, dass alle religiösen und socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten durch die von Moses verfasste Gesetzgebung in einer solchen Weise geregelt wurden, welche jede Controverse, Casuistic und infolge dessen jede Erweiterung und Ergänzung ausgeschlossen hätte.” (*Die Genesis*, p. xxv. Freiburg, 1899.)

³ Cfr. VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique* vol. i, n. 6.

⁴ Gottfried HOBURG, *loc. cit.*, p. xxvii.

altogether one-sided, inasmuch as it takes into account only those points which seem to make for the Mosaic authorship, and simply ignores—far from accounting for—opposite data no less truly afforded by the careful and impartial study of the Pentateuchal contents.

§ 2. *Evidence in Favor of the Traditional View Concerning the Authorship of the Book of Josue.*

I. External Evidence. As in connection with the Pentateuch, so in connection with the book of Josue, Jewish tradition, adopted later by, and transmitted in, the Christian Church, gives the name of the author. It has maintained that, with the exception of its last verses, which refer to the death of Josue and to events subsequent to it,¹ this book is the work of Josue, the successor of Moses in command. And in consequence, those scholars who simply abide by the traditional view of Jews and Christians admit that the sixth historical book of the Old Testament was written by Josue himself, or at least in his time.²

It must be said, however, that some of them, while regarding as conclusive the argument drawn from tradition, recognize that this very tradition—apparently unanimous once among Jews and Christians—underwent variations in the course of time,³ so that at the present day even Catholic scholars feel comparatively free to depart from it. Whence it is clear that the common sentiment of Jews and Christians regarding the authorship of the book of Josue can hardly be invoked as if it settled the question concerning the authenticity of that sacred book.

¹ Josue xiv, 29–33.

² This is the view of Vigouroux, Clair, Cornely, Kaulen, Lesêtre, and a few others among recent Catholic scholars.

³ These variations arose chiefly from a closer examination of the contents of the book of Josue; and the sole fact that the tradition concerning the authorship of a sacred book can undergo such variations proves that questions regarding authorship are of their very nature problems of literary Criticism.

2. Internal Evidence. To supply what is wanting in external evidence, the defenders of the traditional view concerning the authorship of the book of Josue appeal to internal grounds, and endeavor to prove the four following positions :

(1) *The Author of the Book of Josue is prior to David.* This may be gathered, we are told, from many particulars which show that it "was composed not later than at the beginning of the reign of Saul, and indeed even earlier. Thus, according to xvi, 10, the Chanaanites still dwelt in Gazer ; but according to III Kings ix, 16, they were exterminated by Pharaon, king of Egypt, in the beginning of Solomon's reign or the end of that of David. According to xv, 63, the Jebusites are not yet expelled from Jerusalem : this was accomplished by David, in the very beginning of his reign over all the tribes.¹ According to ix, 27, the place of the Temple is not yet chosen, though this was fixed so early as in David's time ;² and the Gabaonites are still hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and the altar, in conformity with the treaty which Josue and the elders made with them, which, however, was abolished by Saul's bloody crime against them.³ According to xi, 8 ; xix, 28, Sidon is the chief city of Phenicia, and according to xiii, 4-6, the Sidonians or Phenicians belong to the Chanaanites who are to be exterminated : to this class they could no longer have been reckoned in David's time,⁴ at which time, moreover, Tyre has taken the highest place, instead of Sidon."⁵

¹ II Kings v, 5-9.

² II Kings xxiv, 18 sqq. ; I Chron. xxi, 18 sqq. ; xxii, 1.

³ II Kings xxi, 1 sqq.

⁴ II Kings v, 11 ; III Kings v, 15 ; I Chron. xiv, 1.

⁵ K. F. KEIL, *Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Test.*, vol. i, p. 210 (Engl. Transl.). We have quoted from Keil, because subsequent advocates of the traditional view seem to have followed him implicitly in regard to this first position.

(2) *The Writer was an Actual Witness of the Events recorded.* This is clearly seen, we are told, from the whole tenor of the historical contents, wherein the author speaks of events as one who has played an important part in them.¹ Usually, it is true, he uses the third person in his narrative; but at times he betrays himself as a writer contemporary with the facts detailed, by employing the first person (cfr. iv, 23; v, 1, 6, in the Hebrew); as also by stating that Rahab “dwelt in the midst of Israel unto this day” (vi, 25), that Hebron belonged to Caleb also “unto this day” (xiv, 14); and by making other statements of similar import (cfr. ix, 27; xv, 63; xvi, 10; etc.). In like manner, the argument from the style and diction of the narrative points in the same direction. “The topographical information which abounds in the latter portion of the book (chap. xiii sqq.) is of such a nature and is presented in such a form as strongly suggests the use of written and apparently contemporary documents. It is, indeed, only through the researches of modern travellers and geographers that we are enabled to appreciate the minute accuracy of some parts of this information. . . . Certainly other statements in the following chapters (i.e., those following chap. xv) are far less definite and complete. This fact, however, makes against the theory of Knobel, that the geographical lists are borrowed from surveys of a much later date than the times of Josue. For such surveys, made when the whole country had long been occupied and familiar, would not exhibit the defects so apparent in the description before us. We have, e.g., in xvi and xvii no lists of the towns belonging to the great tribes of Ephraim and Manasses; and imperfect lists of those assigned to Zabulon and Aser (cfr. xix, 15 and 28); while the boundary-lines in the case of other northern tribes are but vaguely indicated. . . . The shortcomings in the

¹ Cfr. Jos. xiv, 6 sqq.; xv, 8 sqq.; xvii, 14 sqq., etc.

writer's statement are mainly due to the fact that his knowledge was itself imperfect. . . . The Chanaanites were at that time still strong in many isolated districts; and in these accurate information would hardly be procured, much less would actual measurement be practicable. Hence the want of fulness and accuracy which marks some portions of these topographical chapters, while others are copious and minute. The very anomalies of the writer's most valuable description of Palestine, inconvenient as they often are, seem thus to be attributable to the early date of the information. His documents were written while Israel was still a stranger in the land of his inheritance, and in parts of it still a foreign invader."¹

(3) *The Writer may be Josue, Moses' Successor in Command.* This the defenders of the traditional view prove to their own satisfaction, in spite of several passages which have been ascribed to a time later than that of Josue. The passages of this description are: (1) the oft-repeated formula "unto this day," which seems to imply a period not contemporaneous with the events recorded; (2) the quotation in x, 13, from "the book of the Just," of a passage describing a miraculous victory won during the conquest of Chanaan; (3) the reference to the distinction (in xi, 21) between *Juda* and *Israel*, which is naturally referred to the time that followed the disruption of Solomon's kingdom; (4) the accounts of Caleb's conquest of Hebron and Othniel's conquest of Dabir (xv, 13-19), and that of Lesem by the Danites (xix, 47), although in Judges 1, 10-15, and xviii, these events are described as having been undertaken after the death of Josue; (5) the remark in xv, 63, that the Jebusites "dwelt with the children of Juda in Jerusalem," al-

¹ T. E. SPIN, in the *Speaker's Bible*, Josue, p. 8. All this seems to be endorsed by CORNELLY, *Introd.*, vol. ii, pp. 119-191.

though the enterprise upon Jerusalem was first undertaken after the death of Josue, as stated in Judges i, 8.¹

(4) *Josue is most likely the Author of the Book which bears his Name.* Finally, it is claimed that, apart from the account of Josue's death and events subsequent to it (xxiv, 29-33), and from a few interpolations, the book is referable to Josue on internal grounds. The writer, we are told, is so thoroughly familiar with the prescriptions of Moses, whose words he cites very often,² that he must have been most intimate with him, as we know was the case with Josue. Again, the book itself affirms that "Josue wrote all these things" (that is, according to most advocates of the traditional view, the whole narrative of the conquest and the distribution of the Land of Chanaan among the tribes) "in the volume of the Law of Yahweh."

Before concluding the present chapter, we subjoin a few brief remarks upon the value of the internal grounds usually set forth to prove the genuineness of the book of Josue. Perhaps the strongest of these grounds is the explicit testimony just quoted which seems to ascribe to Moses' successor in command the authorship of the whole book. Unfortunately, the words "all these things" do not clearly and necessarily³ refer to our whole book of Josue. Jahn, and others with him, admit that "they relate solely to the renewal of the Covenant with God which Josue had made, and of which he had erected a monument";⁴ and besides, when closely examined, the entire passage "appears very much like a statement, not by Josue, but from the hand of a later writer who purposely inserted it in his work to in-

¹ For a discussion of these passages, see particularly CORNELY, *ibid.*, pp. 193-198, and LESÊTRE, *Introd.*, vol. ii, p. 200 sq.

² Jos. i, 3; iii, 10; viii, 31; ix, 1; xi, 3; etc., etc.

³ This is conceded by Abbé CLAIR, *Josué*, in *Lethielleux' Bible*, p. 5; see also CORNELY, *loc. cit.*, p. 192.

⁴ JAHN, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, p. 222 (*Engl. Transl.*).

form the reader that the very section (to which it is affixed) was originally, though not perhaps in the self-same form as we have it at present, committed to writing by Josue."¹

As regards the explanations offered to show how the passages which are often ascribed to a time later than that of Josue may be truly understood of his time, it must be said that they are regarded as unsatisfactory by many scholars who have examined them attentively. Father Vigouroux, for instance, considers as a gloss inserted at a later date the oft-repeated words "unto this day," and admits that Josue xv, 63 proves that the tribe of Juda had not yet driven the Jebusites from that city.² In fact, it is on account of some of these passages betraying a later date that such conservative writers as Fried. Keil and T. E. Espin, and many others, do not see their way to maintain that the book ascribed to Josue by tradition was really composed before his death.

One single remark will suffice in connection with the grounds adduced to establish the first two positions, viz.: that the author of the book of Josue was prior to David, and next, that he was an actual witness of the events recorded. These grounds are perhaps "sufficient to prove the antiquity of the matter of the book, and even to render it probable that the greater part of it was originally written by Josue himself; but they are of no force against the hypothesis of the compilation of the book from ancient documents."³

In view of this inconclusiveness of the arguments drawn from internal evidence, and of the lack of constancy in the testimony of tradition respecting the genuineness of the book of Josue, it is not surprising to find, on the one

¹ VAN DEN BIESEN, in the *Dublin Review*, Oct. 1892, p. 253.

² VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 416.

³ Note of the translator in Jahn's *Introd. to the O. T.*, p. 223.

hand, that many Catholic scholars regard this sacred book as owing its present form to an author distinct from Josue, and, on the other hand, that those who admit its genuineness simply maintain that our sixth historical book of the Old Testament was *most likely* composed by the man whose name it bears.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER III.

DIVISION I.—THE OPENING HISTORICAL BOOKS : GENESIS—JOSUE.

Chapter III. Internal Evidence in Favor of Recent Theories concerning Authorship.

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS:	{ 1. Conclusions commonly admitted by Higher Critics, briefly recalled.	
	{ 2. Their Basis, a cumulative Argument from Internal Evidence.	
II. COMPOSITE ORI- GIN INFERRED FROM	{ Use of the different Names of God (Yahweh; Elohim). Peculiarities of Vocabulary; Style; Religious Concep- tions.	
	Repetitions and Discrepancies in	{ Historical Portions. Legislative Enactments.
III. PASSAGES POINTING TO A LATE DATE:	{ in the Pentateuch: (Historical Passages—Geograph- ical Statements—Legislative Enactments). in the Book of Josue.	
IV. DISCOVERY OF "THE BOOK OF THE LAW" UNDER JOSIAS:	The Incident related in	{ IV Kings xxii, 3 sqq.; see also xxiii, 1-27. II Paralip. xxxiv, 14 sqq.; see also xxxv, 1-19.
	Its Bearing on the Composition and Date of the Hexa- teuch.	
V. GROWTH OF HEBREW RIT- UAL LAW THROUGH CEN- TURIES:	1st Code. "The Book of the Cove- nant":	{ Its Name and Extent. Is posterior to the Occupation of Chanaan. Is prior to the eighth cent. B.C.
	2d Code. The Deutero- nomic Law:	{ Connection, yet Contrast, with the First Code. Its Contrast due to circumstances of its Origin. All its deviations from former Code easily accountable.
	3d Code. The Priestly Law:	{ Its Contrast with the Deuteronomic Law very significant. Its Present Form later than Ezechiel.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

CHAPTER III.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE IN FAVOR OF RECENT THEORIES CONCERNING AUTHORSHIP.

§ 1. *Preliminary Remarks.*

I. Conclusions commonly admitted by Higher Critics briefly Recalled. Before setting forth the evidence which the opponents of the Traditional view urge against the genuineness of the first six books of the Old Testament, it will not be amiss to recall briefly the leading conclusions which they commonly adopt in consequence of that evidence. One of these is that the Hexateuch is a compilation from written sources earlier than our present books, but later than the time of Moses and of Josue. In the second place, these written sources are chiefly four: (1) an Elohist document extending through our first six books, composed by a priestly writer, and hence commonly designated by P; (2) the Jehovistic (or Jahvistic) writing, also extending through the Hexateuch, designated by J; (3) a second Elohist document, in close connection with the Jahvistic, denoted by E; (4) the Deuteronomic writing, chiefly in Deuteronomy and Josue, with a few traces in the earlier books, usually designated by D. Thirdly, since Deuteronomy is commonly regarded as having been written not long before the eighteenth year of King Josias (B.C. 621), and since the Deuteronomic source extends through

Josue along with the other sources, the composition of the Hexateuch is placed of necessity subsequent to B.C. 621, although parts of it may be much older, most critics say even Mosaic. Fourthly, the Jehovistic and Elohistie documents are generally considered as older than Deuteronomy, and as no later than about B.C. 750. Finally, the various sources of the Hexateuch have been put together by editors in the course of ages, in such a manner that, despite these successive editings, the documents may still be distinguished by characteristic differences: in the use of the divine names, in language, style, etc.

2. The Basis of these Conclusions a Cumulative Argument from Internal Evidence. As might naturally be expected, the reasons brought forward by the upholders of these conclusions are varied and numerous, and have been set forth by them in many different ways. Two general methods, however, of presenting them are worthy of special attention. The first one, particularly well fitted for a popular presentation of the subject, and adopted by scholars so widely different in religious convictions as Prof. A. Kuenen¹ and Father Van den Biesen,² divides the Hexateuch into its legislative and historical contents, and groups around each of these two great portions of Genesis-Josue whatever arguments may show its late authorship and give a clue to its probable date. The second method, perhaps more suited for a scientific exposition of the matter, and therefore generally followed in regular treatises such as those of Bennett in England³ and Briggs in America,⁴ does

¹ A Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch, §§ 3, 4. In the following paragraphs, however, Kuenen introduces the second method.

² The Authorship and Composition of the Hexateuch, in the Dublin Review, Oct. 1872, Jan. 1893.

³ Biblical Introduction, Part I, The Old Testament; see more particularly, CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, The Hexateuch, Vol. I (Longmans, 1900).

⁴ The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch.

not take into account so much the nature of the contents in those sacred books, as the character of the evidence from which the various arguments are derived. It is owing to the cumulative force of the data supplied by internal evidence that, during the nineteenth century, so many critics have gradually declared themselves convinced first of one and next of another point in reference to the authorship of Genesis-Josue, and it is this same cumulative force that the defenders of the recent theories who follow the second method would have the student feel while he examines for himself the internal evidence in favor of the late composition of the Hexateuch. They therefore connect into one general argument the principal reasons for the recent theories, in such a way as to lead him to admit the correctness of its parts one after another, with the final result that a position very different from the traditional view seems to be the only one tenable.

There is no doubt that this second method of exposition, while making the student better acquainted with the actual manner in which so many minds have been gradually induced to give up the traditional positions, does fuller justice to the arguments advanced by Higher Critics. We shall therefore impartially follow it in our presentation of the internal evidence in favor of the recent theories concerning the authorship of the Hexateuch, and briefly study the direct bearing of such evidence on the following points: (1) the Hexateuch is a compilation from various sources pointing to diverse authors; (2) this compilation contains passages betraying a date later than that ascribed to it by tradition; (3) this comparatively late compilation was not completed at the time of the discovery of the book of the Law under Josias; (4) the Hexateuch, as it now stands, bears the impress of gradual growth through centuries after Moses and Josue.

§ 2. *The Composite Origin of the Hexateuch.*

1. Use of the Different Divine Names (Yahweh; Elohim). Of the many grounds brought forward to prove the composite origin of the Hexateuch, hardly any has been more sharply criticised than the peculiar use of the divine names "Yahweh" and "Elohim," which, as it will be remembered, was first pointed out in 1753 by Jean Astruc, in connection with the book of Genesis.¹ He suggested that the systematic use of the former in a large number of its sections, and of the latter in many others, could be best accounted for by admitting that the writer of the book had utilized two principal documents, which could be called Jehovistic (Yahvistic) and Elohistie from their respective use of the divine names. This was indeed an important discovery, the correctness and bearing of which have been closely examined since Astruc's time, with the result, among others, that valuable facts he had not suspected were brought to light concerning these and other names of God in Genesis-Exodus vi, 1. All the facts of any importance which have thus been disclosed are summed up in the table on page 89.

According to the advocates of the recent theories concerning authorship, the results which are tabulated there prove that the main positions of Astruc were correct.² They clearly show, we are told, that the sections which contain exclusively the one or the other of the two principal names of God (Yahweh; Elohim) are more numerous and extensive than the defenders of the traditional view are at times willing to concede. Again, they show that two principal documents having these divine names respectively,

¹ See Chap. i, § 3, p. 34.

² Nearly all these results can be verified even by the student who is not familiar with Hebrew, but who bears in mind that in the Latin Vulgate "Dominus" (in the Douay Version "the Lord") usually corresponds to "Yahweh," and "Deus" (in the D.V. "God") to "Elohim"

Sections.	Elohim.	Yahweh.	Ha-Elohim. ¹	El 'Eliou. ²	Adonai. ³	El Shadday. ⁴	No Divine Name.
Gen. i-ii 4 ^a .	35 times						
ii, 4 ^b -iii, 24.	3	20 ⁵					
iv.	1	10					
v.	3	1	2				
vi, 1-8.		5	2				
vi, 9-22.	3		2				
vii, 1-9.		3 ⁶					
vii, 10-viii, 19.	3	1					
viii, 20-22.		3					
ix, 1-17.	6						
ix, 18-xi, 9.	1	8					(Gen. xi, 10-32.)
xii; xiii.		13					
xiv.		1		4			
xv; xvi.		13			2		
xvii.	7	1				1	
xviii; xix.	2	16			6		
xx; xxi.	15	3	2		1		
xxii, 1-19.	2	5	3				(Gen. xxii, 20-xxiii.)
xxiv.		19					
xxv, 1-18.	1						
xxv, 19-26.		4					(Gen. xxv, 27-34.)
xxvi-xxvii, 40.		10	1				(Gen. xxvii, 41-45.)
xxvii, 46-xxviii, 9.	1					1	
xxviii, 10-22.	4	4					(Gen. xxix, 1-30.)
xxix, 31-xxx, 24.	8	5					
xxx, 25-43.		2					
xxxi.	8	2	1				
xxxii.	4	1					
xxxiii; xxxv.	20		1			1	(Gen. xxxiv.)
xxxviii-xxxix.	11		1				(Gen. xxxvi; xxxvii.)
xli-l.	20	1	9			4	(Gen. xl.)
Exodus i; ii, 23-25.	5		3				(Exod. ii, 1-22.)
iii-iv, 17.	5	16	5				
iv, 18-vi, 1.		16	2				

were utilized in the compilation of the sacred record. For, on the one hand, it seems almost inconceivable that the same author should limit himself entirely to either of those

¹ This is the divine name "Elohim," with the *article* prefixed.

² This name means "God Most High."

³ Means "Lord," and is also a divine name.

⁴ This expression means "God Almighty."

⁵ The two divine names "Yahweh" and "Elohim" are coupled together in that section; but primitively "Yahweh" was found alone.

⁶ Among these three passages we have numbered Gen. vii, 9, where the true reading is "Yahweh."

divine names in such long portions, while in many other sections, as shown by the table above, he was apparently careful to use sometimes the one and sometimes the other. And, on the other hand, one readily understands how a compiler utilizing two such documents would faithfully preserve either divine name as he found it in his respective sources. Even the mixed sections, that is those which contain about the same number of times both words "Yahweh" and "Elohim," can easily be accounted for on the supposition that two written sources, respectively Jehovistic and Elohist, were laid under contribution by the compiler: we have only to admit that he merged into one single section passages which he drew and faithfully transcribed from either source of information.

It is true that several scholars have endeavored to explain how the names "Yahweh" and "Elohim," not being synonymous, may have been used in different places by the one and the same original writer speaking of God under different aspects. Their usual explanation¹ is that in the sacred record "Elohim" denotes God in His relations with mankind at large, while "Yahweh" is employed in connection with His relations with the people of His choice, as the God of revelation. But this hypothesis of a different standpoint as accounting for the different use of Yahweh and Elohim does not seem to be tenable.² It does not account for such facts, for instance, as the following. In Genesis ii, it is recorded that man and the animals were created by *Yahweh*, whereas in the preceding chapter, they are described as created by *Elohim*; in Gen. vi, 5, *Yahweh* sees that the world is corrupt, whereas in the following verse 12, it is *Elohim* who sees it; in Gen. vi, 22, and vii, 5, the very same command is represented as issued

¹ This is the case with Hävernicks, Hengstenberg, Keil, Cornely, S.J., Green, etc.

² As is distinctly admitted by Vigouroux, Delitzsch, etc. See VIGOUROUX, *Livres Saints et Critique Rationaliste*, vol. iii, p. 134.

in the former case by *Elohim*, in the latter by *Yahweh*, etc., etc.: plainly in all such cases the very same relation is spoken of in connection with God, and yet the different divine names are used. Much more natural and therefore probable is the view according to which these and similar passages were written by different authors who were familiar the one with the divine name "Yahweh," and the other with "Elohim."

To render this view still more probable, scholars who look upon the Hexateuch as a compilation from Jehovistic and Elohist sources appeal to a comparison between the statement in Exod. vi, 2-3, and the narratives in Genesis. "In Exod. vi, 2-3," we are told, "it is written: 'And *Elohim* spoke unto Moses, and said unto him, I am *Yahweh*: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac and unto Jacob, as *El Shadday*, but by my name *Yahweh* I was not known to them.' Turning now to Genesis we find *El Shadday* used in connection with the covenants with Abraham and Jacob; but we also find that the divine name *Yahweh* is placed in the mouth of the antediluvians and patriarchs from Genesis, chap. ii, onward. Here is a glaring inconsistency not invented by critics, but on the surface of Genesis itself. The discovery of Astruc, that this inconsistency is due to a usage of different documents, removed the difficulty. Criticism has found that the priestly writer who wrote Exod. vi never uses the divine name *Yahweh* in his document prior to Exod. vi, when he states that it was revealed to Moses for the first time. The use of the divine name *Yahweh* in Genesis is in the Judaic document, which nowhere mentions or seems to know anything about the revelation of the name *Yahweh* to Moses." ¹

The precise meaning of the passage thus appealed to by

¹ BRIGGS, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, p. 47. For a different interpretation of the passage, Exod. vi, 2, 3, see Father Chas. ROBERT, in *La Revue Biblique* April 1894; see also VON HUMMELAUER, S.J., in *Genesim*, p. 7 sq.

higher critics to confirm the compilatory character of the sacred record has been, and is still, a matter of discussion. It cannot be denied, however, that, as admitted by Vigou-roux,¹ "Exod. vi, 3, contains an opposition between El Shadday and Jehovah," that is between two divine names, and which is consequently analogous to that advocated by higher critics between Elohim and Jehovah. It is also significant that the opposition in Exod. vi, 3, is not between Elohim and Jehovah, else it would have been difficult for the sacred writer to preserve untouched Jehovistic extracts side by side or combined with Elohistie fragments, for, as may be observed in the results as tabulated above, El Shadday never appears in distinctly Jehovistic passages. On the whole, it may therefore be said that Exod. vi, 2, 3, tells rather in favor of the compilatory character of the narrative in Genesis-Exodus vi, 1.

In view of the foregoing facts and inferences, it is not surprising to find that even defenders of the traditional position consider as likely that the author of Genesis had at his disposal ancient documents of which he availed himself in the compilation of his work.² But they are careful to add that the admission of such ancient documents, whether Jehovistic or Elohistie as they are called by modern critics, does not really interfere with the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; for the peculiar use of the divine names Yahweh and Elohim ceases after Exodus vi, 1, and the documents used up to that point in the sacred narrative may have been in existence before the time of the great lawgiver of Israel.³ It must be confessed, however, that when the character of a compilation from earlier sources

¹ Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 252.

² Abp. SMITH, The Pentateuch, pp. 21, 22; VON HUMMELAUER, S.J., in *Genesis*, pp. 39-42; VIGOUROUX, *Livres Saints et Critique Rationaliste*, vol. iii, p. 138 (3d edit.); etc.

³ VIGOUROUX, *Livres Saints et Critique Rationaliste*, vol. iii, p. 144; G. Vos, *Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes*, pp. iii-iv, p. 20; etc.

has been granted for the Jehovistic and Elohistie parts of Genesis, where it remained unsuspected for centuries, it becomes natural to suppose that the large sections of the same book where no name of God appears belong also to pre-existing documents. And in fact it is claimed by critics that the distinctively Jehovistic and Elohistie sources contain peculiarities of language, conception, etc., whereby they can likewise assign to Jehovistic and Elohistie sources, respectively, those sections where no divine name is actually found. Finally, it is maintained by the same scholars that all the peculiarities gathered up from a close study of all these sections, when scientifically grouped and classified, afford in turn a sufficient basis for inferring to which of the sources already ascertained in Genesis the various sections in the following books of the Hexateuch should also be traced back.

Thus does it appear, as we have stated, that the evidence from internal grounds is cumulative and its parts mutually sustaining. But before passing to the next ground appealed to by Higher Critics to prove the Composite Origin of the Hexateuch, we must call attention to other conclusions connected with the use of the different divine names in Genesis—Josue. "The early analysts," says Briggs,¹ "were confronted with the difficulty that there was a very singular and apparently capricious use of the divine name left in the Judaic (Jehovistic) document after the Elohistie document had been eliminated. This led to a more thorough study of that document, which resulted in the discovery that it had been closely connected with another document which uses the divine name Elohim. This discovery was made by Ilgen in 1798; but the discovery was

¹ The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch, p. 47 sq. The passage quoted from Dr. Briggs derives special interest and weight from the fact that he, together with S. R. Driver and Francis Brown, has made a fresh and exhaustive investigation of the use of the divine names, for the publication of the new Hebrew Lexicon as yet unfinished.

ignored until a much later date, when it was rediscovered by Hupfeld.

"Looking now at Exodus iii, we observe that it tells of a revelation of the divine name Yahweh to Moses, at Horeb. This is a parallel narrative to chap. vi, and is now recognized by criticism as from the Ephraimitic author. Thus the whole difficulty of the use of the divine names is solved. . . . This Ephraimitic author not only uses the divine name Elohim, but it is his style to use it with the definite article (Ha-Elohim), and it is also his style to use it by preference, even after the divine name Yahweh was revealed ; whereas the priestly writer seldom uses Elohim after he tells of the revelation of Yahweh to Moses (in Exod., chap. vi).

"In the book of Deuteronomy we find a fourth document which also extends through Josue, and appears occasionally in the earlier narratives. It is the style of this writer (D) to use the terms 'Yahweh thy God,' or 'Yahweh your God.' He uses the former 238 times ; and this phrase is used elsewhere in the Hexateuch : five times in the Ten Words ; three times in the ancient law of worship, in the covenant codes and in two passages (Gen. xxvii, 20 ; Exod. xv, 26), in verses which present other reasons for being considered editorial seams."

2. Peculiarities of Vocabulary ; Style ; Religious Conceptions. To confirm and complete the argument drawn from the distinctive usage of the Divine names, the propounders of the Recent Theories appeal to a manifest difference of vocabulary, style, and religious conceptions, so marked indeed as to argue variety of minds in the composition of the Hexateuch. Each part of this second argument may be briefly presented as follows.¹

¹ In the exposition of this argument we shall follow closely the art. *Hexateuch* by F. H. WOODS, in HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible ; only the other writers from whom extracts shall be made will be explicitly referred to.

(1) *As regards Vocabulary.* Hardly any source is characterized by more distinctive features than the Deuteronomic (D). In it we may conveniently distinguish (1) *favorite words*, especially where one synonym is used in preference to another; (2) characteristic *phrases* and expressions.¹

Under the first head we may notice more particularly:

Horeb, for "Sinai";	Qilalah, "a curse," frequently;
'amah, a "maid servant";	Qerev, with prep. <i>b</i> or <i>min</i> , "in" or "from the midst of";
heta', the unusual word for "sin";	shamar, "to keep, observe," very frequent, especially of keeping God's laws; etc.; also in Niphal in such phrases as, take heed to thyself (yourselves) lest.
'adamah, very frequently with the sense of "earth";	
levav, "heart," very frequently instead of lev;	
lamadh, "to teach," very frequent;	

Under the second head we will simply mention the following phrases:

Yahweh, thy (your, etc.) God (more than 180 in Deuter.);	times in Deuter.; nowhere else in Pentat.);
Hear, O Israel;	Which thou (ye) knowest (or knewest) not;
Prolong thy (your) days;	That it may be well with thee;
Cleave to Yahweh thy God (nowhere else in Pentateuch);	That thou mayest possess the land;
Serve other gods;	At that time; etc., etc.
That it may be well with thee (7	

These are only a very few of the most striking examples, and to show the full force of the argument we should have to point out the *relative frequency* of a very much larger number of words and phrases. But those given are so thoroughly characteristic that they will be at once recognized as specially belonging to Deuteronomy by any one at

¹ For other examples, and for references to passages in Holy Writ, see particularly DRIVER, *Introduction to Literature of the Old Test.*, pp. 99-102; and *Comment. on Deuteronomy*, pp. lxxviii-lxxxiv; see also CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, vol. i, pp. 200-207.

all familiar with that book. Thus, for instance, in Deut. vi, in verses 1-3, taken almost at random, at least 8 examples occur of the words and phrases mentioned above; indeed there is hardly a single phrase in them, excepting "a land flowing with milk and honey," which does not illustrate the peculiar style of the book.

Hardly less strongly characterized is the vocabulary and language of the Priestly writer (P). In Genesis up to Exod. vi, 1, that is prior to the revelation of the name Yahweh, this source always uses *Elohim* as the divine name.¹ Beside this peculiarity, we may notice the following:

"The sons of Israel," not "Israel";	Min (kind);
The children of Heth;	Hammishken (the dwelling) of
'ani (130 times) instead of 'anokhi;	the tabernacle (about 100
According to their generations;	times);
Male and female;	In the bone of this day (i.e. in this
Thou (you, etc.), and thy seed	very day);
after thee;	Paddan-Aram, never Naharaim;
That soul shall be cut off from his	Sinai, never Horeb; etc., etc.
people;	

There is also an avoidance of several otherwise common words and phrases, such as *na'* with imperatives; 'asah hesed, to do mercy, etc. It should also be borne in mind that, in this connection, higher critics studiously refrain from mentioning as characteristic of the Priestly writer all sacrificial terms, and words of a like nature, which might be accounted for simply by his peculiar subject-matter.²

Among the words and phrases which characterize the remaining Jehovistic and Elohist sources, beside the use of *Elohim* and *Yahweh* respectively, we may mention more particularly the following.

¹ Except in Gen. xvii, 1; xxi, 1^b.

² For further information, see DRIVER, *Introd. to Literature of the O. Test.*, pp. 131-135 (6th edit.); and more especially CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, *loc. cit.*, pp. 208-221.

In the Elohistic source:

Amorites (used as name of aborigines of Palestine) for Chanaanites;	Koh, used of place;
Horeb for Sinai;	Jethro for Raguel;
The man Moses (3 times);	B'ir (beast), only in E;
Ba'al (lord) in its several senses as "husband";	R'ghalim, literally "feet," in sense of "times";
	Sim l'ghoi, literally "put for a nation"; etc., etc.

In the Jehovistic source:

Aram Naharaim;	'Anokhi, for 'Ani, usually;
Israel, for Jacob;	Took him a wife (regular in J);
Sinai, for Horeb;	As thou goest;
Chanaanites;	To preserve seed alive;
To find grace in the eyes of;	Yalad, (Qal), to beget;
To call on the name of Yahweh;	Dwell in the midst;
To run to meet;	Na', with imperatives;
Egypt, for Egyptian;	Lev, for "self"; etc., etc. ¹

(2) *As regards Style.* As might well be expected, the style of the four great sources of the Hexateuch has been looked into very carefully by critics, and the main results of their investigations have been well summed up as follows by Dr. Briggs:² "It is agreed among critics that E (the Elohist) is brief, terse and archaic in his style. J (the Jehovist) is poetic and descriptive—as Wellhausen says, 'the best narrator in the Bible.' His imagination and fancy are ever active. P (the Priestly code) is annalistic and diffuse,—fond of names and dates. He aims at precision and completeness. The logical faculty prevails. There is little color. D (the Deuteronomist) is rhetorical and hortatory, practical and earnest. His aim is instruction and guidance. This difference was noted by Richard Simon,

¹ For detailed information, see CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, *ibid.*, pp. 185-200.

² The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch, p 74 sq.

and has been carefully traced by criticism in our day.¹ There are those who try to explain away this difference as occasioned by the difference of theme, but this does not account for the difference of style in the parallel treatment of the same theme. And then the differences of style are alongside of the differences in the use of words and phrases and the divine names. There is as great a difference in style between the documents of the Hexateuch as there is between the four Gospels."

(3) *As regards Religious Conceptions.* Together with the differences of phraseology and style, the advocates of the Composite Origin of the Hexateuch bring forward differences of religious conceptions as characteristic of the four main documents which go to make up Genesis-Josue. According to them,² the Jahvist interests himself in moral questions and speculates on the origin and growing power of evil. It is he who tells the story of Eden and Adam's fall, of the corruption of mankind and the flood which was its consequence, of the pride which manifested itself in the building of the tower at Babel, and the punishment which followed, viz., the confusion of tongues. At the same time, we find in him an anthropomorphism which is the most pronounced in the Hexateuch. It is Jahweh who *fashions* men and animals, *breathes* life into man's nostrils (Gen. ii, 7, 19), *takes* a rib from his body and *closes up* the opening (ii, 21), *builds up* the rib into a woman (ii, 22), *plants* the garden (ii, 8), *takes* man and *sets him down* in it (ii, 15), *walks* in Eden during

¹ For details, see DRIVER, *ibid.*, p. 117 sqq.; see also art. *Hexateuch*, in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*; and W. E. ADDIS, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, Introduction.

² In the exposition of the differences of religious conceptions, we shall follow closely the text of W. E. ADDIS, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, p. iii sqq. For further information, the student may be referred to DRIVER, *loc. cit.*; CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*; A. DILLMANN, in *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament* (3 vols. on Genesis-Josue. The vol. on Genesis has been translated into English); etc.

the cool of the evening (iii, 8), *closes* the door on Noe as he goes into the ark (vii, 16), speaks as if *jealous* of man (iii, 22), *goes down* to confound the speech of the builders at Babel (xi, 6, 7), appears in *human form* to Abraham and *eats* with him; *goes to make inquiries* about the iniquity of Sodom (xviii, sq.), *wrestles* with Jacob (xxxii, 24-32), *meets* Moses and *seeks to kill him* (Exod. iv, 24); etc., etc. The Jahvist also notes the agency of natural causes in his account of the plagues of Egypt, of the passage of the Red Sea, and displays a large-hearted interest in the sacred places of northern Israel and of Juda.

On the other hand, the Elohist has more elevated notions of the Godhead than the Jahvist. The God of whom he writes appears in dreams,¹ or acts through the ministry of angels.² Closely connected with this view of religion is the presentation of Abraham as a prophet and intercessor,³ and the mention of Jacob's putting away the strange gods and amulets from his household⁴ before he builds the altar to Elohim at Bethel. He shows what may be called an anti-quarian interest: it is in him we find the old word for a piece of money, viz., Kesitah;⁵ he is well informed about Egyptian matters, and in general he has given a number of concrete facts and names which are not to be found elsewhere. Finally, his stories of the patriarchs centre round the shrines and sacred places of northern Israel, such as Sichem, Mahanaim, Panuel, Galaad, etc., and hence while there is much dispute about the place in which the Jahvist wrote, there is a general consensus of critics that the Elohist belonged to the northern kingdom.

¹ Gen. xx, 3; xxxi, 24; Numb. xxii, 9, 20.

² Gen. xxi, 17; xxii, 11; xxviii, 12, etc.; Exod. iii, 2.

³ Gen. xx, 7.

⁴ Gen. xxxv, 4.

⁵ Gen. xxxiii, 19. Cfr. DELITZSCH, New Comment. on Genesis, vol. ii, pp. 216 sq. Engl. Transl.); DILLMANN, Genesis, vol. ii, p. 292 (Engl. Transl.); GESSENIUS, Thesaurus Linguae Hebraicae et Chaldaea, sub voce, p. 1241; etc.

Very different indeed from the Jahvistic and Elohist writers is the Deuteronomist, the earnest preacher of law, warmed and animated by the spirit of prophetic piety. On the one hand, he would save his people from relapse into heathenism; on the other, inspire them with an absolute devotion of the heart and soul to Yahweh. For him, all truth centres in one truth: "Hear, O Israel, Yahweh thy God is one Yahweh," i.e. unique in nature and character, and so utterly unlike the gods of the heathen. All particular laws cluster round the one commandment: "Thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength," and this supreme duty of love is constantly on the speaker's lips.¹ While the Jahvist and Elohist make much of the old shrines which they connect with the history of the Patriarchs and the apparition of Yahweh or His angels,² the Deuteronomist will make no terms with old Chanaanite usage;³ while the former writers considered the pillar and the sacred post so innocent that they ascribed their origin to Israel's saints and represented Josue as erecting a stone "under the oak which was in Yahweh's sanctuary,"⁴ the Deuteronomist says: "Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah of any kind of tree⁵ beside the altar of Yahweh thy God. . . . Neither shalt thou set thee up a pillar which Yahweh thy God hateth."⁶ Beside this, the Deuteronomist is never weary of repeating that no sacrifice may be offered save at the one "place which Yah-

¹ Deuter. x, 12; xi, 1, 13, 22; xiii, 4.

² Gen. xii, 6; xxi, 33; xxviii, 18-22; xxxi, 13, 45; etc.

³ Deuter. xii, 2, 3.

⁴ Josue xxiv, 26.

⁵ The *Asherah* here spoken of was undoubtedly a wooden post or mast (cfr. *Aschéra*, in VIGOUROUX, Dictionn. de la Bible, p. 1073; see also HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. i, p. 165; and CHEYNE-BLACK, Encyclopædia Biblica, vol. i, col. 330 sqq.

⁶ Deuter. xvi, 21, 22.

weh thy God shall choose out of all the tribes " of Israel.¹ The system is completed by the limitation of the priesthood to one tribe, viz., to the sons of Levi, and by providing them with a share in the sacrifices, the first-fruits of corn, wine and oil, and the first of the fleece.² As there was to be but one place of sacrifice, the Levites, who lived chiefly on the sacrifices and had no land, were likely to be badly off. Accordingly, the Levites are constantly mentioned with the poor and strangers, and throughout recommended to the charity of the Israelites.³

Finally, the religious tone and conceptions of the Priestly Writer are in harmony with his character as a priest whose special interest centres in the ritual law. "His representations of God," says Driver,⁴ "are less anthropomorphic than those of J (the Jahvist), or even of E (the Elohist). No angels or dreams are mentioned by him. Certainly he speaks of God as 'appearing' to men, and as 'going up' from them⁵ at important moments of the history, but he gives no further description of His appearance: usually the revelation of God to man takes with him the form of simple *speaking* to them;⁶ only in the supreme revelation on Sinai,⁷ and when He is present in the Tent of Meeting,⁸ does he describe Him as manifesting Himself in a form of light and fire (*Kavodh, glory*), and as speaking there with Moses,⁹ as man to man, or in order that the people may recognize Him.¹⁰ . . . But anthropopathic expressions of

¹ Deuter. xii, 5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26; xiv, 23-25; xv, 20; xvi, 2, 6 sq., 11, 15 sq.; xvii, 8, 10; etc.

² Deuter. xviii, 1-5.

³ Deuter. xii, 18, 19; xiv, 27-29; xvi, 11, 14; xxvi, 11-13.

⁴ *Introd. to Literat. of the O. Test.*, p. 128 sq.

⁵ Gen. xvii, 1, 22 sq.; xxxv, 9, 13; xlviii, 3; Exod. vi, 3.

⁶ Gen. i, 29; vi, 13; viii, 15; ix, 1; Exod. vi, 2, 13.

⁷ Exod. xxiv, 16 sq.; cfr. xxxiv, 29^b.

⁸ Exod. xl, 34 sq.

⁹ Numb. vii, 89; Exod. xxv, 22.

¹⁰ Exod. xvi, 10; Levit. ix, 6, 23 sq.; Numb. xiv, 10; xvi, 19, 42; xx, 6.

God he avoids scrupulously; even anthropomorphic expressions are rare,¹ so that a purpose is here unmistakable. . . . On the other hand, he nowhere touches on the deeper problems of theology. . . . His work contains no Messianic outlooks into the future: his ideal lies in the theocracy, as he conceives it realized by Moses and Josue. In P the promises to the patriarchs, unlike those of J, are *limited to Israel itself*. The substance of these promises is the future growth and glory ('Kings shall come out of thee') of the Abrahamic clan; the establishment of a covenant with its members, implying a special relation between them and God,² and the confirmation of the land of Chanaan as their possession. The Israelitish theocracy is the writer's ideal; and the culminating promise is that in Exod. xxix, 43-46, declaring the *abiding presence of God with His people Israel*.³

The Priestly Writer prescribes an elaborate ritual for the offering of sacrifice, and gives great prominence to the sin and trespass offerings which are never mentioned in the rest of the Hexateuch. He makes the sharpest distinction between "the priests the sons of Aaron" and the Levites, speaks of the high priest, his dignity and privileges, and makes ample provision for the income of the priests and Levites.³

Such is the mere outline of an argument the full weight of which—as is affirmed by critics—cannot be realized save by one familiar with the original Hebrew; for especially the part of it which is based on the language and style naturally demands a good working knowledge of Hebrew for its perfect apprehension. But they claim that no one can closely examine these fixed modes of speech with-

¹ Gen ii, 2 sq.; cfr. Exod xxxi, 17^b.

² Gen xv.i, 7^b; Exod vi, 7^a.

³ For details in connection with that ritual of P, see W. E. ADDIS, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, vol i, pp lxvii-lxxiii.

out noticing their presence in numerous and well-defined sections, and, on the contrary, their total, or nearly total, absence from others: whence it seems only legitimate to refer these different sections to different authors. This appears all the more clearly, we are told, because, together with those differences in vocabulary and style, one easily notices the differences in religious standpoint exhibited by the various documents. But what clinches the proof for the composite origin of the Hexateuch, say the same critics, is the fact that all the differences so far set forth are, time after time, connected with double or treble accounts of the same events or the same laws, which accounts themselves present not a few striking discrepancies. Owing, then, to the intimate connection between these two parts of the argument in favor of the compilatory character of Genesis-Josue, we shall postpone our remarks upon the differences in vocabulary, style and religious conceptions till we have exposed those that are found in the various accounts of the same laws or facts.

3. Repetitions and Discrepancies. It would indeed be a long and tedious work to set forth in detail the several accounts and their discrepancies which critics have pointed out in the Hexateuch, whether such accounts be found side by side, or worked up together, or given at different places, in the sacred record. In fact, little more can be done than to give students an idea of the varying accounts (1) of events narrated, and (2) of laws enacted, which are appealed to as proving the composite origin of the Hexateuch.

(1) *Repetitions and Discrepancies in the Narrative Portions.* In the opening chapters of Genesis we have two varying accounts of the Creation.¹ The division of the

¹ Gen. i-ii, 4^a; ii, 4^b-23.

work of creation into *six days* is entirely wanting in the second account. Again, the order of creation is different: in the former, the order is, — light, the firmament, the separation of land and water and the growth of trees, etc., the heavenly bodies, fish and birds, the animals, and, *last of all, man*, who is created male and female; in the latter, the order is,—man, plants, the lower animals, woman. In Genesis, vi–ix, there are two accounts of the flood which are mingled together, yet admit of separation: thus, the corruption of mankind and God's consequent displeasure are recorded in vi, 5–8, and again, but differently, in verses 9–13; again, several passages (vi, 19, 20; vii, 8, 9, 14 sq.) speak of *one pair of every kind* of animals being taken into the ark by Noe at God's command; while vii, 2, 3, distinguishes between *clean* and *unclean* beasts, and orders *seven* pairs each of the former to be preserved, etc. We have two discrepant accounts of the origin of the names *Bersabee*,¹ *Bethel*,² *Israel*,³ etc. The two accounts of Joseph's history,⁴ though closely parallel on the whole, have been mingled together. According to the Jahvist, the name Yahweh was known even to Eve,⁵ and was quite familiar to the patriarchs;⁶ according to the Elohist,⁷ it was revealed to Moses during his sojourn in Madian; according to the Priestly Writer, it was revealed to the Hebrew lawgiver on his return to Egypt,⁸ and this writer notes apparently that this divine name was unknown to the patriarchs. The father-in-law of Moses was, according to one document,

¹ Gen. xxi, 31, and xxvi, 32, 33.

² Gen. xxviii, 18, 19, and xxxv, 15.

³ Gen. xxxii, 28 sqq., and xxxv, 10.

⁴ Gen. xxxvii, xxxix, xl.

⁵ Gen. iv, 1.

⁶ Cfr., for inst., Gen. xv, 7; xxi, 33; xxiv, 7; xxvi, 28 sqq.; xxviii, 22; etc.

⁷ Exod. iii, 14 sq.

⁸ Exod. vi, 2 sq.

Jethro;¹ according to another, Raguel, or Hobab son of Raguel.² In Exod. xvi we have an account of the sending of the manna and of the quails; in Numb. xi the sending of the quails is related at a later period of the Wanderings in the Desert, and here the manna is described at length, apparently by an author who is mentioning it for the first time. Numb. xiii contains two accounts, varying in several particulars, of the sending of the spies into Chanaan. Again, in Numb. xvi, xvii, three distinct accounts have been united: according to the first, the Rubenites, Dathan and Abiron rebel against the civil authority of Moses (cfr., for inst., xvi, 12-14); according to the second, Core rebels against the authority of the Levites, and vindicates the sanctity of the whole congregation (xvi, 2-7^a; xvii, 16-28 (in Vulgate 1-13), in which last it is "the rod of Aaron for the tribe of Levi, which buds"); according to the third, Core, a Levite, rebels against the exclusive priesthood of the sons of Aaron, and asserts the priesthood of all Levites (xvi, 7^b, 8-11, 16, 17).

It would be easy to add to the foregoing list of duplicate varying accounts throughout the Hexateuch,³ and to give examples of the numerous repetitions in the same narrative, or of the way in which many a story, having reached a certain point, begins over again;⁴ but this would be very long, and, after all, is not necessary in order to convey to the reader a distinct idea of the main grounds for the compilatory character of the Hexateuch, which have been drawn from its historical portions.

¹ Exod. iii, 1; iv, 18.

² Exod. ii, 18 sqq.; Numb. x, 29.

³ Such accounts are always pointed out by DRIVER in his *Introd. to the Literat. of the O. Test.* For the duplicate accounts in the book of Josue, see chiefly CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, vol. ii, p. 304 sqq.

⁴ For references to particular examples, beside DRIVER just mentioned, cfr. KUENEN, *A Historico critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch*, p. 40 sq. (Engl. Transl.); and also the article *Hexateuch* in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 363.

(2) *Repetitions and Discrepancies in Legislative Enactments.* When we turn from the historical to the legislative portions of the Hexateuch, we are also confronted by varying accounts which point to its composite origin. It will suffice to point out a few of these in the three Codes—the book of the Covenant, the Priestly Code, and the Deuteronomic Law¹—which are embodied in the opening historical books, Genesis–Josue.

The book of the Covenant allows altars of earth or unhewn stone to be built, and sacrifices to be offered to Yahweh in various localities;² whereas the Deuteronomic Law requires that He be worshipped by all the tribes at only one central shrine,³ and the Priestly Code describes as the place for sacrifice the altar of the tabernacle, which must be neither of earth nor stone, but of acacia wood covered with brass.⁴ The book of the Covenant mentions no priestly race, while Deuteronomy limits the priesthood to the Levites, but assumes that *all* Levites are priests,⁵ and, on the contrary, the Priestly Writer limits the priesthood to a particular family of the Levites, viz., the sons of Aaron.⁶ In like manner, the laws concerning the payment of tithes, the first-born, the cities of the priests and many other matters, differ among themselves.⁷

¹ Here is the respective extent of these three Codes:

(1) The "Book of the Covenant" is contained in the section Exod. xx, 22–xxiii, 33; it was promulgated on Mt. Sinai.

(2) The Priestly Code embraces the following chapters: Gen. ix, 1–17; xvii, 1–14; Exodus xii; xxv–xxx; xxv–xl; Leviticus i–xxvii; Numb. i–x, 28; xv; xviii; xix; xxvii–xxx; xxxiv–xxxvi; Josue xx; xxi.

(3) The Deuteronomic Law, delivered in the Plain of Moab, is contained in Deuter. v–xxvi; xxviii. Cfr. VAN DEN BIESEN, in the Dublin Review, Oct. 1892, p. 254 sqq.; DRIVER, *ibid*; etc.

² Exod. xx, 24.

³ Deuter. xii, 1 sqq.; xiv, 23 sqq.; xvi, 2, 6 sq.; etc.

⁴ Exod. xxvii, 1–8; Levit. i, 3; xvii.

⁵ Deuter. xvii, 9, 18; xviii, 1; xxi, 5; xxiv, 8; etc.

⁶ Exod. xxviii; Numb. iii; xviii, 1–3.

⁷ For details, see VAN DEN BIESEN, *loc. cit.*, p. 251 sqq.; ADDIS, *The Documents of*

Such is the last part of the argument set forth by critics as proving the compilatory character of the Hexateuch. It cannot be denied that if the narrative portions and the legislative enactments contained in Genesis-Josue confront us with such duplicate varying accounts, they preclude most positively all unity of authorship, all the more so because the repetitions and discrepancies appealed to are not isolated, but appear concomitantly with the differences of vocabulary, style and religious conceptions. Hence it is that the defenders of the traditional view have strenuously endeavored to undermine and do away with such concurrent grounds in favor of the composite origin of the Pentateuch.

They have argued that the diversity of the legal enactments may be reconciled with the unity of authorship, when it is remembered that the legislation went on during forty years, so that all the differences may be due to later changes of the original legislation made by Moses himself. They have denied the actual existence of material discrepancies in the narrative portions of the Hexateuch, and have allowed only such differences as would naturally arise on the part of the one and the same author describing *similar* circumstances, or speaking of the same event—as, for instance, of Creation—from two different standpoints, which a close examination of the text may even now bring out.¹ The numberless repetitions in the narrative they have sometimes referred to a genuine Oriental style of writing history, which, in so far as it can be noticed in the opening historical books, goes to show their real trustworthiness.

As regards the differences of vocabulary, style, etc., the

the Hexateuch, pp. xlv-xlvi; KUENEN, loc. cit., pp. 26-32 (Engl. Transl.); BRIGGS, The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch, chap. x; etc.

¹ Cfr. VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, nos. 254, 255. "The second chapter of Genesis," says Vigouroux, "does not present a second narrative of Creation; it simply sets forth in greater detail several points concerning the creation of man, with a view to introduce the narrative of the Fall."

defenders of the traditional view still maintain that the literary marks—distinct from the different use of the names of God—which have been used in connection with the various documents of the Hexateuch are simply “criteria fabricated so as to suit the phenomena under consideration.”¹ They also claim that these criteria are mostly applied in an arbitrary manner, as when critics “take a single verse, or half a verse, or even a smaller portion still, out of its natural connection, and attach it to a section from which it is remotely separated, for the simple reason that it does not conform to their literary canons”;² or as when, “to get rid of troublesome facts, they frequently call in various editors or redactors.” Finally, they tell us that “the general consensus of critics in their linguistic analysis of the Hexateuch should not surprise us much,” when we bear in mind that “the work has been carried out for more than a century with marvellous ingenuity, but also with the preconceived notion of the composite origin of the Hexateuch, and with great skill in fortifying all weak points, while guarding against exposure on any point where any tolerable assertion may avoid it.” In a word, “the whole division is arbitrary and precarious.”³

To these disparaging remarks concerning the work of a whole century,⁴ conducted by many men of “real honesty of purpose, great talents, extensive erudition, rare acquaintance with Hebrew and its sister dialects,”⁵ few impartial scholars will be tempted to subscribe. The truth is that the defects latent in the views and theories of a critic, far from being overlooked or purposely concealed by his fellow-

¹ G. Vos, *Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes*, p. 26.

² Vos, *ibid.*, p. 28.

³ *Cfr.* Vos, *ibid.*, pp. 29, 48, 49. The views of Vos are endorsed by Vigouroux and others.

⁴ For a calmer examination of the positions against the traditional view, see KEIL, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. i; CORNELY, *Introd.*, vol. ii.

⁵ Abp. SMITH, *The Pentateuch*, p. 5.

workers at home and abroad, have invariably and openly been pointed out, usually together with the best remedy that might be applied to them. In reality, it is only those facts or positions which withstood the test of the most acute and critical minds of the nineteenth century that are now considered as settled by advocates of the recent theories. The criteria applied were indeed suggested by the study of the phenomena exhibited by the Sacred Text, but this naturally arises from the fact that the grounds are supplied by internal evidence. A most careful writer in the *Dublin Review*,¹ Father Van den Biesen, does not hesitate to say "that D (the Deuteronomist) and P (the Priestly Writer) have a peculiar phraseology is evident to every one who reads the Pentateuch in its original language." And to the question whether "the oldest parts of the Pentateuch are compiled from two historical memoirs using Jehovah and Elohim respectively," the French Oratorian, Chas. Robert, gives this significant answer: "Yes, most certainly. We candidly confess that we long struggled against the compilatory character of the narrative. We scrutinized every single piece of evidence brought forward by the advocates of the documentary hypothesis, with a view to discover the weakest points of the theory, and dispose of it for ever. We oftentimes noticed inaccuracies, and took note of contradictions in the views of critics; but, after long struggles, we felt obliged to give up the fight and admit that, in its main outlines, the documentary thesis is true. . . . Genesis is composed of double narratives. It is thus impossible to attribute it to a single original author. For how admit that an author should stoop to the ridiculous device of telling all the events of Genesis in two editions, differing at times appreciably?"²

¹ October 1892, p. 260.

² Réponse à "l'Encyclique et les Catholiques Anglais et Américains," Paris, 1894,

As regards the discrepant accounts in the legislative enactments of the Hexateuch, Father Van den Biesen writes boldly : " The comparison which has been made (between the three Codes) shows that the three collections differ considerably as to the laws regulating the place of public worship, and as to the distinction between Levites and priests. The conclusion to be drawn from this material difference is plain. The three collections cannot in their present form be the product of one age and of one author." ¹

The foregoing remarks prove how unjustly some of our best scholars have at times been accused of flippancy or temerity. The conclusions they endorse point out perhaps a *via media* between two extreme positions : between that of the Rationalistic critic, whom religious bias leads to affirm more than is warranted by the internal grounds he has examined, and that of the ultra-conservative writer, whom prepossessions against all novel theories prevent from looking closely and appreciatively into the internal evidence in favor of the composite origin of the Hexateuch. It is because they seem to be a *via media*, that these conclusions have been adopted by such Protestant writers as Delitzsch, Kirkpatrick, Driver, etc., etc., men who thoroughly believe in the divine character of the Old Testament ; and by an ever-increasing number of Catholic writers, among whom may be mentioned Gustavus Bickell, Lagrange, O.P., Loisy, Chas. Robert, Van den Biesen, Robert Francis Clarke, etc., scholars equally acquainted with the requirements of revealed Catholic belief and of the facts supplied by a careful investigation of the literary character of Genesis-Josue. It would therefore be positively unfair to rank among Rationalists writers whose only purpose is to show how the teachings of divine faith may be harmonized with fully ascertained data of literary criticism, and whose personal de-

¹ Dublin Review, Oct. 1892, p. 264.

votion to the noble task set before them recalls the heroic—though not always perfectly successful—efforts of Christian apologists in the course of past ages.¹

§ 3. *Passages pointing to a Late Date.*

The argument just set forth to prove the composite origin of the Hexateuch goes far, then, in the eyes of many contemporary scholars, toward disproving the traditional view concerning the authorship of Genesis-Josue. According to them, it does away with that unity of authorship which is naturally implied in the claim that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, and that Josue composed the book which bears his name. It thus paves the way for admitting in the Pentateuch statements posterior to the time of Moses, and in the following book passages later than that of Josue; while it finds its confirmation in the next argument which the advocates of the recent theories precisely ground on such late passages of the Hexateuch.

I. Post-Mosaica, or Passages of the Pentateuch pointing to a Date later than Moses. Among the countless passages of the Pentateuch which have been set down as pointing to a date later than Moses' time, and have, on that account, been called *Post-Mosaica*, we shall single out those which are considered as such by most contemporary critics. Of this description are the following *historical* statements: (1) Gen. xxxvi, 31, "Before there reigned any king over the children of Israel," which would have been meaningless in the mouth of Moses, and the obvious meaning of which is very natural on the part of one speak-

¹ Even the student who is not familiar with the Hebrew language can, with the help of some such close rendering from the original Hebrew as the Revised Version, and of some such works as A. DILMANN (3 vols. on the Hexateuch); DRIVER, *Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test.*; B. W. BACON, *Genesis of Genesis*; and Triple Tradition of the Exodus; etc., pursue a personal study of the argument drawn from the literary features of Genesis-Josue.

ing after the actual establishment of the monarchy centuries after Moses' time ; (2) Gen. xl, 15, "the land of the Hebrews," and Gen. xii, 6^b, xiii, 7^b, which show that the writer lived in an age when the Chanaanites were no longer in Palestine, that is in a period subsequent to Solomon ;¹ (3) Deuter. ii, 12, which refers explicitly to the fact that Israel has driven out the Chanaanites and taken full possession of the land : "the Horrites formerly dwelt in Seir ; but the children of Esau succeeded them ; and they destroyed them from before them and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did unto the land of his possession which Yahweh gave to him" ;² (4) in the light of these passages, the expression "unto this day" in Gen. xxxv, 20 ; Deuter. iii, 11, etc., refer to a period far distant from the events ; (5) finally, the Canticle in Exod. xv, 1-17, contains a reference to the Lord's House, the Temple on Mount Sion (see verses 13, 17).

A second class of *Post-Mosaica* comprises *geographical* statements found in the Pentateuch, and referable to a time later than Moses. Thus (1) the name Hebron, used several times in Genesis (xiii, 18 ; xxiii, 2 ; xxxvii, 14) and once in the book of Numbers (xiii, 23), is a Post-Mosaic name of Kiriath-Arbe, as we learn from Josue xiv, 15 ; xv, 13 ; (2) the name Dan³ is Post-Mosaic for Lais or Lesem ;⁴ (3) stereotyped expressions, invariably used for north, south, east and west, which nevertheless have no significance except for a writer dwelling in Western Palestine ; for instance, South is literally *Negeb*-ward, i.e., toward the desert of Bersabee ;⁵ West is sea-ward, i.e., toward the Mediterranean ;⁶ while the expression "beyond

¹ Cfr. III Kings ix, 16, 20 sq.

² Cfr. Levit. xviii, 28.

³ Gen. xiv, 14.

⁴ Cfr. Josue xix, 47 ; Jud. xviii, 29.

⁵ See Gen. xii, 9 ; xx, 1 ; Exod. xl, 24 ; etc.

⁶ Gen. xxviii, 14 ; Exod. xxvi, 22 ; etc.

Jordan" is frequently accompanied by "toward the sun-rising" and is always shown by the context to mean eastward, whereas to Moses "beyond Jordan" would be west.¹

Lastly, *Post-Mosaic* expressions can also be pointed out in *legislative* enactments of the Pentateuch. Of this description are the following instances: (1) Exod. xxiii, 19, where the law that Israel should "bring their first-fruits of the ground to the house of Yahweh" naturally refers to the time after the settlement in Chanaan and the building of the Temple to the Lord; (2) Deut. xix, 14, which reads: "thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark which thy ancestors (literally, they of old time) have set in thy inheritance," and which, in its present wording, presupposes the ancient occupation of Chanaan by Israel; (3) Deuter. xx, wherein the laws relating to war are worded in a manner which implies the conquest of Western Palestine and refers to cities of peoples far distant from the actual settlements of Israel.²

To meet victoriously the argument against the Mosaic authorship drawn from the *Post-Mosaic* statements pointed out in the Pentateuch has long been the concern of the defenders of the traditional view, particularly of Welte,³ Abp. Smith,⁴ and other leading Catholic scholars after them. The general results of their earnest and prolonged efforts—as of those of such Protestant writers as Hengstenberg, Keil, Green, etc.—may be briefly summed up as follows: In some cases, they have succeeded in making it appear plausible that some of the passages alleged to be *Post-Mosaic* may, after all, have been written by Moses. This is the

¹ Cfr. Gen. i, 10, 11; Deut. i, 1, 5; iii, 8, 20; iv, 41, 47; etc. Concerning the objection raised against this position, see *Deuteronomy*, p. xliii, by DRIVER, in *Internat. Crit. Commentary*.

² Cfr. particularly verses 5 sqq., 15, etc.

³ *Nachmosaisches im Pentateuch beleuchtet* (Freiburg, 1841).

⁴ *The Pentateuch in its Authorship* etc. (London, 1868).

case, for instance, with Gen. xii, 6; xiii, 7, although Father Van den Biesen writes of both passages: "It cannot be denied that the manner in which both remarks are made gives the impression that the writer lived after the occupation of Chanaan."¹ In other cases, they have felt obliged to admit that certain passages may be, or even are, later additions to the work of Moses. In reference to Genesis xxxvi, 31, for instance, Father J. P. Martin writes very candidly: "Such a verse cannot evidently have been written before the institution of the monarchy in Israel."² It is certain, however, that during the last thirty or forty years of the nineteenth century Catholic scholars, treading closely in the footsteps of such conservative writers as Hengstenberg and Keil, have been more reluctant than in preceding ages to appeal to interpolations;³ and it must be said that some of the Pentateuchal statements that had been formerly regarded as later additions should always have been considered as genuine, because they are clearly integrant parts of the Sacred Text. Finally, in other cases—such, for example, as Exod. xxiii, 19; xv, 17; Gen. xii, 9; xx, 1; etc.—the defenders of the Mosaic authorship either give no answer to the difficulties of their opponents, or only give one which seems in many ways inadequate.

In view of all this, it is easy to understand how of late Catholic scholars, dissatisfied with the answers that had been given concerning the *Post-Mosaica*, have been led to admit that the obvious meaning of most of, if not of all, the passages referred to above, points really to a date later than Moses' time. This position they have adopted all the more readily because, as granted even by so conservative a scholar as Father Martin, "the impersonal tone of the narrative por-

¹ In the Dublin Review for Jan. 1893.

² De l'Origine du Pentateuque, vol. i, p. 275.

³ Tostatus († 1454), Masius († 1573), Pererius, S.J. († 1610), Cornelius à Lapide, S.J. († 1637), and others appealed more freely to interpolations.

tions of the Pentateuch, together with some of their details, would rather point to an author different from Moses.”¹ Among these details the same writer mentions explicitly, as non-Mosaic, Exod. xi, 3: “The man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh’s servants and of all the people”;² and of the same description is clearly the following: “Moses was a man exceeding meek above all men that dwelt upon earth.”³ It must also be said that in the eyes of those who, on the strength of the first argument for the compilatory character of the Hexateuch, had already admitted that the Jehovistic and Elohist sources were utilized by a compiler whose work extends into Josue, the Post-Mosaic of the Pentateuch are the most natural thing in the world.

2. Passages in the Book of Josue pointing to a Later Date than Josue’s Time. When one passes from the Pentateuch to the book of Josue, he soon notices that the statements set forth by critics as referring to a later date are less numerous than those which they point out in connection with the books of Moses.⁴ But this smaller number is naturally accounted for by the comparative shortness of the book under review.⁵ From among such later passages we shall mention only a few, either more striking or more commonly admitted: (1) the taking of Hebron by Caleb, and of Dabir or Cariath-Sepher by Othniel, recorded in Josue xv, 13–17, was apparently subsequent to Josue’s

¹ De l’Origine du Pentateuque, vol. i, p. 142.

² Ibid., p. 36.

³ Numb. xii, 3.

⁴ For most of the examples appealed to by recent critics, cfr. S. DAVIDSON, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. i, p. 412 sqq. (London, 1862).

⁵ The statement that “the critics can find nothing late about the book” of Josue, which is made in *Lex Mosaica*, p. 120, is hardly true to fact. Cfr., beside Davidson just referred to, KUENEN, *The Hexateuch*, p. 47 sq. (Engl. Transl.); and art. Joshua (book of) in SCHAFF-HERZOG, *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. ii, p. 1203 (N. York, 1837).

death;¹ (2) in like manner the capture of Lais or Lesem by the Danites, which is recorded in Josue xix, 47, occurred only after the decease of Josue;² (3) the attack upon Jerusalem implied in Josue xv, 63, is related in Judges i, 8, as having been undertaken after Josue's death; (4) the oft-repeated phrase "unto this day" (iv, 9; v, 9; vi, 25; vii, 26; etc., etc.), especially when taken conjointly with a reference to events later than the death of Josue (cfr. xv, 63; ix, 27), proves that the book did not appear contemporaneously with the occurrences described; (5) the distinction between "the hill country of Juda" and "the hill country of Israel" in Josue xi, 21, shows that the writer lived after the separation of Israel from Juda, consequently after Solomon's time; (6) the quotation from the book of Yashar (the Just or Upright) in Josue x, 12-13, which was not completed before the beginning of the monarchy, since the lament of David over Saul and Jonathan forms part of it,³ points in the same direction; (7) in Josue ix, 23, we have a definite reference to the temple built by Solomon. If we join to all this the general fact that Josue is spoken of in the third person, we shall readily understand how even the scholars who, abiding by tradition, ascribe the work to him find it hard to harmonize their position with the internal evidence afforded by the book which bears his name; how also many writers, Protestant and Catholic alike, confronted by passages which point so clearly to a date later than Josue's time, have been led to give up the traditional view respecting the book of Josue.

It can hardly be denied, therefore, that the advocates of the recent theories appear, in the main, to be right when they appeal to anachronisms in the book of Josue to prove its late composition. But of course, once this position of

¹ Cfr. Judges i, 1, 9-13.

² Cfr. Judges xviii.

³ Cfr. II Kings i, 17.

theirs is granted, they cannot fail to urge similar conclusions in regard to the contents and the authorship of the Pentateuch. The two cases, they tell us, are parallel, and the whole Hexateuch, to wit, the Pentateuch and its natural complement, the book of Josue, bears the impress of a period later than Moses and his immediate successor in command. Whence they draw the following important conclusions: (1) the preceding argument based on the composite origin of the Hexateuch is powerfully confirmed by the anachronisms contained in Genesis-Josue; (2) these late passages, especially when taken together with the other available data, can form a sound basis for inferring the approximate date when the main parts of the Hexateuch were compiled; (3) as some of these late passages point to a period later than Solomon's time, it must be admitted that the final redaction of the Hexateuch is posterior to the rule of that monarch. In fact, this last and very important inference is confirmed by the next argument, which is based on what the Bible tells us concerning the discovery of "the book of the Law" under King Josias (641-610 B.C.).

§ 4. *The Discovery of "the Book of the Law" under Josias.*

I. The Incident related in IV Kings xxii, 3 sqq., and II Paralip. xxxiv, 14 sqq. It would be difficult to exaggerate the interest which throughout the nineteenth century has gathered around the contents and origin of "the book of the Law" discovered in the eighteenth year of King Josias. The identification commonly admitted of that book with the Deuteronomic Law, and its connection with the date 621 B.C., have become "the central position of the science of the Hexateuch,"¹ so that both the narrative of its discovery and its exact bearing on the date of Genesis-Josue demand a careful study.

¹ B. W. BACON, *The Genesis of Genesis*, p. 46 (Hartford. 1892).

According to the closely-connected accounts of the fourth book of Kings (xxii) and the second book of Chronicles (xxxiv), it was "in the eighteenth year" after his accession¹ that King Josias, anxious to repair "the house of Yahweh," appointed a commission to supervise the work of restoration. It was made up of Helcias, the high-priest; Saphan, the king's secretary or minister of finance; Maasias, the governor of Jerusalem; and John, the recorder. While the commission was engaged in its duties, Helcias came upon a manuscript which he took to be "the book of the Law."² The book thus "found" "in the house of Yahweh" was delivered by the high-priest to Saphan, the royal scribe, as the proper person to bring it before Josias, and awaited the result.

After "reading it" himself,³ Saphan showed it to the king as "a book" which had been handed to him by Helcias, and then "read it"⁴ to his master. Josias, hearing "the words of the book of the Law," rent his garments, and sent Helcias and others to "consult Yahweh for him and for the people and for all Juda, concerning the words of this book which is found: for the great wrath of Yahweh is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according all that is written concerning us."⁵

The royal message was thus conveyed to the prophetess Holda, who then lived in Jerusalem. Her answer was in substance to the effect that, since Juda had fallen by its determined idolatry, the wrath of Yahweh would certainly be "poured out" on it; but that so far as the God-fearing Josias was concerned, he would die in peace. And this

¹ IV Kings xxii, 3; II Paralip. xxxiv, 8.

² IV Kings xxii, 8; II Paralip. xxxiv, 15. The Chronicler speaks of it himself as "the book of the law of Yahweh by the hand of Moses" (verse 14).

³ IV Kings xxii, 8. Cfr. verse 16.

⁴ IV Kings xxii, 10. The chronicler says: "Saphan read *therein* before the king."

⁵ IV Kings xxii, 13. The chronicler has: "because our fathers have not *kept* the word of *Yahweh*, to do according all that is written *in this book*" (xxxiv, 21).

sad intelligence was reported to the king. Nothing discouraged, the pious monarch sought formally to renew for himself and his people the covenant with Yahweh. In the hearing of all his subjects "he read all the words of the book of the Covenant which was found in the house of Yahweh," and solemnly pledged himself "to walk after Yahweh, and to keep His commandments and His testimonies and His statutes with all his heart and with all his soul, to perform the words of the covenant that were written in this book."¹ Whereupon he started a religious reform. He cast out of the Temple the vessels that had been made "for Baal, for the Asherah, and for all the host of heaven," and destroyed the priests connected with sun and star-worship. Next, he did away with all the shrines of Yahweh except the Temple at Jerusalem, and in particular he laid waste the High Places where He had been worshipped, including the old sanctuary at Bethel. Lastly, he celebrated a Pasch "according as it was written in the book of the Covenant: now there was no such a Pasch that had been kept" under previous kings.²

Such is the substance of the two accounts of that celebrated discovery, as given in the fourth book of Kings and the second of Chronicles. When read carefully, they do not indeed appear independent of a common source;³ but they certainly reproduce its contents, in a manner which bespeaks the trustworthiness of the Biblical record.⁴ Again, they clearly witness to the *bona fide* discovery of "a book" which Helcias considers as "a Mosaic book, although he does not mention the name of Moses."⁵

¹ IV Kings xxiii, 2, 3; II Paralip. xxxiv, 30, 31.

² IV Kings xxiii, 21 sq.

³ Cfr. Abbé J. P. MARTIN, de l'Origine du Pentateuque, vol. ii, p. 224 sq.

⁴ Cfr. Prof. GEO. F. MOORE, art. Deuteronomy, in CHEYNE-BLACK, Encycl. Biblica, vol. i, col. 1080; see also MARTIN, *ibid.*

⁵ Prof. R. KITTEL, A History of the Hebrews, vol. i, p. 58 (Engl. Transl.). The name of Moses is given only in the indirect narrative of II Paralip. xxxiv, 14.

2. Bearing of the Discovery of "the Book of the Law" upon the Composition and Date of the Hexateuch. For obvious reasons the book discovered in the eighteenth year of Josias' reign has long been identified with our Pentateuch, or Law of Moses. It was regarded as having been completed centuries before, and deposited by the side of the ark of the Covenant.¹ In the course of time it was supposed to have been lost sight of, especially during the reigns of Josias' idolatrous predecessors, and the sole extant copy, long buried in the Temple of Jerusalem, was finally discovered and identified by the high priest Helcias as "the book of the Law of Yahweh by the hand of Moses."² Again, no other *law-book* of divine authority was ever known among the Hebrews. Finally the usual identification by modern critics of the book discovered in B.C. 621, with the whole, or the largest part, of Deuteronomy, leads to the same conclusion, because Deuteronomy implies the existence of the preceding books.

Despite these and other such arguments, most recent scholars—among whom are reckoned such defenders of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as Martin and Vigouroux, who themselves tread in the footsteps of St. Jerome and St. John Chrysostom³—admit that "the book of the Law" found by Helcias was not our entire Pentateuch. In point of fact, beside arguments of more or less weight drawn from the narrative in the fourth book of Kings—that the whole Pentateuch would hardly be described as a law-book; that a book as bulky and heavy as the Pentateuch would have been at that time, could not have been handled as freely as is mentioned in the sacred narrative;⁴

¹ Cfr. Deuter. xxxi, 9, 24 sqq.

² II Paralip. xxxiv, 14.

³ Cfr. MARTIN, *ibid.*, p. 230 sq.; VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 500; ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, in I ad Cor. Hom. vii, § 3; ST. JEROME, *Adv. Jovinianum*, Book i, § 5 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 23, col. 217).

⁴ Cfr. MARTIN, *ibid.*, p. 231.

that, with the entire legislation before him, the king would not have based his religious reform on deuteronomic laws exclusively—"it is utterly impossible that the whole Pentateuch should have vanished without leaving a trace of its existence; the older and, consequently, the better known it was, the greater the impossibility. Even if the one copy deposited in the Temple had disappeared, there must always have been others in existence in the priestly circles."¹

When our present Pentateuch has thus been set aside, there remain two books with which "the book of the Law" discovered under Josias might be identified, to wit, "the book of the Covenant" contained in Exodus xx, 22-xxiii, 33, and the book which is called "the book of this Law," in Deuteronomy xxviii, 61. As regards the former the identification must be given up, because, although it bears the name of "the book of the Covenant," in common with "the book of the Law" found in the Temple about B. C. 621,² it "recognizes freedom of sacrifice at many places (Exod. xx, 24-26), says no word about the unlawfulness of the 'high places,' and could not therefore supply the programme for Josias' reform."³

But the case stands differently with the Deuteronomic "book of this Law," for it exactly meets the required conditions.⁴ The book discovered under Josias contained denunciations and *curses*, such as are found in Deuter. xxviii.⁵ It made mention of a covenant with Yahweh with *clear* reference to Deuteronomy xxxviii, 69 (in Vulg. xxix, 1); xxvi, 17-19, etc.⁶ The reforms carried out by the king

¹ KITTEL, A History of the Hebrews, vol. i, p. 59 (Engl. Transl.).

² Cfr. IV Kings xxiii, 2, 3, 21; II Paralip. xxxiv, 30.

³ ADDIS, The Documents of the Hexateuch, vol. 1, p. lxxv.

⁴ This explains how, many centuries ago, St. John Chrysostom (in I ad Cor. Hom. vii, § 3) and St. Jerome (Against Jovinian, Book i, § 5) felt no hesitation in identifying the book found under Josias, with Deuteronomy. Vigouroux, Martin, Robert, and many other Catholic scholars maintain the same position.

⁵ Cfr. IV Kings xxii, 11, 13, 19.

⁶ Cfr. IV Kings xxiii, 2, 3, 21.

are precisely those that would be required by conformity with the Deuteronomic "book of this Law," especially as regards

	IV Kings xxiii.	Compared with Deut.
(1) the centralization of worship.....	8, 9	xii, 2-6; xvi, 2, 5, 7, etc.
(2) the abolition of the worship of the heavenly bodies.....	4, 5, 11	xvii, 3
(3) the interdiction of the high places, pillars, Asheras.....	4, 5, 14, 15	xvi, 21, 22
(4) the prohibition of religious prostitutes...	7	xxiii, 17 sq.
(5) the maintenance of priests ejected from local shrines.....	8, 9	xviii, 8
(6) the abolition of Moloch worship.....	10	xviii, 10
(7) the celebration of the Pasch in a new style	21-23	xvi, 1-8
(8) the ejection of diviners and soothsayers..	24	xviii, 11

To this it may be added that the conduct of Josias in sending to the prophetess Holda to consult Yahweh was most likely suggested by Deuter. xviii, 18, 19. In point of fact, all the information that may be gathered from the Biblical account of the discovery of a Law-book in the seventh century points, not to the other books of the Pentateuch, but to the book of Deuteronomy; and in that book itself, not to the historical, but to the legal portions contained in chaps. v-xxvi, xxviii. Whence the advocates of the recent theories admit generally that "the book of the Law" found in Josias' time, and the sole basis of his religious reform, was identical with that Deuteronomic code.¹

But since this "book of the Law" or Deuteronomic Code was simply *found* by Helcias, when was it written? Had it been long lost, and how long? To these questions most contemporary scholars answer that the book found about B.C. 621 could not have been lost very long, that it was, in fact, composed either under Manasses or during the early years of King Josias.² Here are some of the reasons ad-

¹ This view is endorsed by Father VAN DEN BIESEN (Dublin Rev., Jan. 1893, p. 45) and by other Catholic scholars.

² Ewald, Bleek, W. R. Smith, Kittel, Ryle, Wildeboer, Driver, Kautzsch, affirm that

duced by Driver¹ to prove this general position: (1) "The law of the kingdom" is colored by reminiscences of the monarchy of Solomon. The argument does not deny that Moses may have made provision for the establishment of a monarch, but affirms that the form in which the provision is here cast bears the stamp of a later age. (2) The terms of Deuter. xvii, 8-13 (cfr. xix, 17), in which the constitution of the supreme tribunal is not *prescribed*, but represented as *already known*, appear to presuppose the existence of the judicature instituted (according to II Chron. xix, 8-11) by Josaphat (about 915-892 B.C.). (3) The forms of idolatry alluded to, especially the worship of the 'Host of Heaven' (iv, 19; xvii, 3), point to a date not earlier than the second half of the eighth cent. B.C. It is true, the worship of the sun and moon is ancient, as is attested even by the names of places in Chanaan; but in the notices (which are frequent) of idolatrous practices in the historical books from Judges to Kings, no mention of the 'Host of Heaven' occurs until the reign of Achaz; and in the seventh century it is alluded to frequently.² The temptation to worship 'other gods' is the pressing danger of the age, both in Deuteronomy and in Jeremias. (4) The influence of Deuteronomy upon subsequent writers is clear and indisputable. It is remarkable, now, that the early prophets, Amos, Osee, and the undisputed portions of Isaias show no certain traces of this influence; Jeremias exhibits marks of it on nearly every page; Ezechiel and Deutero-Isaias (i.e. Isai. xl-lxvi) are also evidently influenced by it. If Deuteronomy were composed between Isaias and Jeremias, these facts would be

it belongs to the reign of Manasses; while Reuss, Kuenen, Dillmann, Cheyne, Cornill, Holzinger, Montefiore, Carpenter and Battersby place it in the first years of Josias.

¹ Comm. on Deuteronomy, p. xlvi sq. In the Internat. Critical Comment. Cfr. ADDIS, The Documents of the Hexateuch, vol. i, p. lxxviii.

² Deut. xvii, 14-20.

³ IV Kings xxiii, 12; xxi, 3, 5; cfr. xxiii, 4, 5, 11, 12. That worship was introduced, in all probability, from Babylonia.

exactly accounted for. (5) The language and style of Deuteronomy, clear and flowing, free from archaisms, but purer than that of Jeremias, would suit the same period."

While, for these and other such reasons, critics are practically at one in referring the composition of Deuteronomy to the 7th cent. B.C., they are divided as to the question whether it should be assigned to the long reign of Manasses (698-644 B.C.) or to the early years of Josias. Those who admit the former date naturally appeal to the Scriptural account of the discovery of the book of the Law under Josias. "The fact that the book was found on the occasion of a structural alteration of the Temple seems (to them) to prove that it had been actually hidden, and this for a fair length of time";¹ and "there is force in the argument that it could hardly have been lost during the early years of Josias (who appears to have been throughout devoted to the service of Jehovah), while this might easily have happened during the heathen reaction under Manasses."² This last point is well brought out by Prof. Kittel³ in the following manner: "A man of prophetic character, faithful to Yahweh, stirred by Ezechias' attempted reform and by Manasses' idolatry, wrote the book in the reign of the latter. The troubles of the time and the hostile disposition of the king deterred him from publishing it. He had no wish to risk his own safety and the usefulness of his work.⁴ Hoping for better days, he concealed it in the Temple. The author may not have survived the long reign of Manasses, or he would soon have come forward with his work after Josias' accession. It appears to have been thus forgotten, and only found by a fortunate accident in the

¹ R. KITTEL, *A History of the Hebrews*, vol. i, p. 64 (Engl. Transl.).

² DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 87 (6th edit.).

³ *A History of the Hebrews*, vol. i, p. 65.

⁴ That a prophetic writer might run such a risk in Israel is no mere conjecture on the part of modern critics. Cfr. Jeremias xxxvi, xxxviii.

18th year of Josias. Helcias and Saphan are thus exculpated from every kind of disingenuousness."

Those who, on the contrary, claim that Deuteronomy was written in Josias' time appeal to the calm and hopeful spirit which the author displays without even so much as an allusion to the frightful persecutions of Manasses' reign, and to the dejected condition of Yahweh's worship throughout the land. They contend that the book is very probably the outcome of the religious reaction which naturally set in at the accession of Josias, and was designed from the first to promote reforms so long desired. Some of them go even so far as to maintain that there was a preconceived plan between the reformers of the time to make the king believe in the great antiquity of the book, and that the discovery of the book of the Law was not purely fortuitous. From the outset, they say, Deuteronomy was meant for publication, and Helcias accepted the rôle of bringing it under the notice of the king, whose cooperation was necessary for the work of reformation which the book advocated. The high priest availed himself of a favorable opportunity to speak of it to Saphan, Josias' secretary, as "found" in the Temple, and to have it transmitted through him to the monarch.

It can hardly be doubted that when Deuteronomy is conceived of as not having been written by Moses, its ascription to the reign of Manasses appears best in harmony with the general history of the period, and with the narrative of the discovery of "the book of the Law" in the fourth book of Kings and in the second book of Chronicles. It must also be stated that while critics deny a strict Mosaic authorship, they are extremely careful not to dissociate altogether Deuteronomy from the name and authority of the great law-giver of Israel. "Hebrew laws," says one of them,¹

¹ H. E. RYLE, art. Deuteronomy, in HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible, vol. i, p. 603.

“went back to the founding of the nation under Moses. The name of Moses embraced the whole legislation, both in its earlier forms and in their later expansion and modification. The writer of Deuteronomy employed the nucleus of ancient law as the means of conveying the teaching needed by his time. The authority of Moses is invoked as impersonating the spirit of Israelite law in its later application, no less than in its original framing. Moses is made to plead with his people and to show the abiding principles of the worship of Yahweh. . . . In language, in thought and in character, Deuteronomy is most easily understood as the composition of one who lived in the seventh century, and who sought by a ‘dramatic’ use of the last words of Moses to recall his countrymen to a holier life and a purer service of Yahweh.” And another no less excellent critic, Prof. Driver, writes:¹ “Deuteronomy may be described as the *prophetic reformulation, and adaptation to new needs, of an older legislation*. It is probable that there was a tradition, if not a written record, of a final legislative address delivered by Moses in the steppes of Moab: the plan followed by the author would rest upon a more obvious notice, if he thus worked upon a traditional basis.”

Whatever may be thought of these last positions, which are substantially adopted by Father VAN DEN BIESEN,² it is most certain that, the seventh century being once admitted as the approximate date of Deuteronomy, the Hexateuch cannot have been completed by that time. The reason of this, according to critics, is obvious: the Deuteronomic writing is not confined to Deuteronomy; it extends also, and indeed considerably, through the book of Josue.

¹ Comm. on Deuteronomy, p. lxi.

² Dublin Review, Jan. 1893, p. 41. See also LAGRANGE, O.P., Revue Biblique, 18, 8, p. 22.

§ 5. *Growth of Hebrew Ritual Law through Centuries.*

We now come to the last stage in the argument from internal evidence in favor of the recent theories concerning the authorship of the Hexateuch, viz., the growth of Hebrew Ritual Law through centuries. Briefly stated, this part of the argument comes to this. As has already been pointed out, the discrepancies between the three Codes embodied in the Hexateuch are such that the "three collections cannot, in their present form, be the product of one age and one author."¹ Now this inference is confirmed and made more explicit, we are told, by a careful historical study of the growth of Israel's religious practices and institutions in the course of ages; for such a close investigation of the data afforded by the laws themselves and by the Biblical narratives gives a clue to the distinct and distant periods to which the three great Codes owe their origin. Of course, only a few of the most salient facts appealed to by critics can be mentioned.²

I. Origin of "the Book of the Covenant." The first Hebrew Code embodied in the Hexateuch is "the book of the Covenant,"³ contained in Exodus xx, 22-xxiii, 33. It now belongs to that prophetic narrative of the Hexateuch, which results from the combination of the Second Elohist and Jahvistic sources (hence its symbol JE), and which represents this body of laws as given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai.⁴ Internal evidence, however, seems to point to a later date. It implies that the people for whom

¹ VAN DEN BIESEN, in Dublin Rev., Oct. 1892, p. 264.

² For full information, cfr. BRIGGS, Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch, pp. 96-128; KUENEN, The Hexateuch; JUL. WELLHAUSEN, Prolegomena to the History of Israel; CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, The Hexateuch, vol. i, chap. ix sqq.; etc.

³ It bears this name in Exod. xxiv, 7.

⁴ Cfr. Exod. xx, 18.

the Code was drawn up were engaged in agricultural pursuits. They are spoken of as having fields and vineyards and standing grain, and on that account are bidden to be prompt in offering the best of their fruits and the products of their presses ; regulations concerning the tilling of the ground are also recorded, and the feasts of harvest and ingathering distinctly established.¹ Whence it appears that these and other such laws were framed when Israel had already been settled in Chanaan.

It is also claimed by critics—and this is granted by so careful an apologist as Abbé de Broglie²—that the book of the Covenant implies and sanctions numerous sanctuaries in different parts of the land, for the direction in Exod. xx, 24, 25, to erect an altar either of earth or unhewn stone to God “in every place where the memory of His name shall be,”³ cannot refer to the *brazen* altar at the tabernacle or temple, and cannot be limited to one spot. An inference to the same effect may be drawn from Exod. xxi, 13, 14, and xxii, 30, since the orders therein contained could not have been carried out without manifold sanctuaries. Now these regulations correspond with the state of things exhibited in the books of Judges and Samuel, and in the early part of the history of the Kings. Thus, during the period of the Judges, sacrifices are offered not only at Silo,⁴ but also at Bochim⁵ and at Bethel⁶ by the people at large, and in Judges vi, 24, by Gedeon, the Judge of Israel. During the administration of Samuel and the reign of Saul sacrifices are likewise offered in different places by Samuel

¹ Cfr. Exod. xxii, 5, 6, 29 ; xxiii, 10 sq., 16.

² *Loi de l'Unité du Sanctuaire en Israel*, p. 16 sq. See also VAN DEN BIESEN, in *Dublin Review*, October 1892, p. 261.

³ This is the rendering of the Vulgate. The Hebrew has : “ In every place where I cause my name to be remembered ”

⁴ 1 Kings i, 1-4.

⁵ Judges ii, 5.

⁶ Judges xx, 26-28 ; xxi, 21, 24.

at Ramatha, where he lived (I Kings vii, 17), at Maspha (vii, 9); by the people at a high place, in the land of Suph (ix, 12-14), and also at Galgal (xi, 15); by Saul likewise at Galgal (xiii, 9), and later apparently at Ailon (xiv, 35). Again, the family of David are represented as offering a sacrifice at Bethlehem (xx, 29); Absalom asks leave from David to go to Hebron for the purpose of bringing a vow-offering;¹ and Solomon is said to have offered a magnificent—and most welcome to God—sacrifice, at the great high place in Gabaon.² Even after the building of the Temple, the people continue to sacrifice at various places. Elias “repairs the altar of Yahweh” at Carmel (III Kings xviii, 30); and at Horeb he complains to God that the people have destroyed His altars (xix, 14). The hills or high places shaded by oaks and terebinths appear to have been the more favorite spots,³ and none of the pious kings Joas, Amazias, Ozias and Joatham bethought themselves of abolishing them, though the compiler of the books of Kings, from his Deuteronomic standpoint, designates their toleration as unlawful.⁴ Yea, more, Amos and Osee (about 760-740 B.C.) utter threats against the high places not so much because of the custom itself of sacrificing thereon, as because of the idolatrous practices into which this custom repeatedly degenerated.⁵ So that their utterances, like those of Micheas their contemporary,⁶ do not presuppose unity of sanctuary, but are simply a step in the direction towards it. From all these facts, we are told, two things can be readily inferred. On the one hand, the law allowing plurality of altars and sanc-

¹ II Kings xv, 7.

² III Kings iii, 4.

³ Cfr. Osee iv, 13.

⁴ Cfr. IV Kings xii, 3; xiv, 4; xv, 4, 35.

⁵ Cfr. Osee viii, 11; x, 8; etc.

⁶ Cfr. Mich. i, 5. It is not unlikely, because of the strong denunciations of “high-place” worship by the prophets of his time, that Ezechias set his face against it (cfr. IV Kings xviii, 4, 22).

tuaries was in existence at the time of Amos, Osee and Isaías (8th cent. B.C.). On the other hand, this same law would not have been enacted during the lifetime of these prophets, since they vigorously protest against the abuses entailed by manifold sanctuaries.

The general conclusion to be drawn as regards the period during which "the book of the Covenant" originated is therefore that this first Code of the Hexateuch took its rise some time after the occupation of the land of Chanaan by Israel, and before the time of Osee, Amos and Isaías.

2. Origin of the Deuteronomic Law.¹ The second stage in the growth of Hebrew ritual law is marked by the legislation of the Deuteronomic Code. "While adopting and repeating, with some modifications, almost everything contained in the book of the Covenant, the Deuteronomic laws are in striking contrast with it in one point. They insist that all the sanctuaries—the origin of most of which may be traced back to Chanaanite times—must be destroyed, that all sacrifices must be brought to one altar at the place which Yahweh should choose, and that the people must not continue to do 'after the things which we do here this day, every man that which seemeth good to himself.'² This, it is claimed, proves that these laws constitute a new departure, an attempt to reform the existing state of things by abolishing the local sanctuaries to which the people had freely resorted heretofore, and confining Yahweh worship to a single sanctuary."³

Now, as we saw in dealing with the discovery of "the book of the Law" under Josias, the vigorous attempt at putting an end to the sanctuaries outside Jerusalem, and strictly limiting all worship to the Temple, was made by

¹ Deuter. v-xxvi; xxviii.

² Deuter. xii, 1-8.

³ W. H. Green, *The Hebrew Feasts*, p. 20 sq.

this monarch. He did so in express compliance with the book of the Law recently discovered, and which was no other than the Deuteronomic Code. So that this event fixes both the time when, and the circumstances under which, that *Second Law* originated.

It was the outcome of the efforts of the leading prophets of the eighth century, aided by the priests and by the best men of the nation, against the hitherto prevailing popular religion. Yahweh worship, they all agreed, could be regulated and kept pure only by being centralized at Jerusalem,¹ which many external circumstances clearly pointed out as *the* religious centre. The Temple at the capital was naturally superior in splendor and celebrity to the sanctuaries in rural districts and smaller towns. Samaria and its sanctuaries had fallen, and the inhabitants of Israel had been carried into captivity, whereas Juda and Jerusalem had escaped from Sennacherib's power and the Temple had been miraculously preserved by the Almighty. Prophets did not cease denouncing the high places, and thus bringing them into greater disfavor with the piously minded, whose attachment grew proportionately stronger for the house of the Lord, on Mount Sion. In fact, the worship there was in a comparatively purer condition, and could be more easily supervised than outside Jerusalem, while the small size of the Southern Kingdom, which now alone survived, made the closing of the local sanctuaries possible as never before. Under these circumstances, the centralization of worship at the Temple was resolved upon, the Deuteronomic Code prepared, and a hearty support given by priests and prophets to its enforcement by Josias.

The unity of sanctuary, which was thus the most strongly felt need of that period, is the leading feature of the Deu-

¹ Cfr. Isaiah ii, 1 sqq. See DELITZSCH, Isaiah, vol. 1, p. 94 sqq. (T. T. Clark, Eng. Transl., 1890).

teronomic Code, which explains its deviations from the antecedent book of the Covenant. The early usage had been that every animal slain for food must first be offered in sacrifice at some sanctuary easily accessible. But the new Law, recognizing it impossible to require a pilgrimage to the one central sanctuary at Jerusalem, on every such occasion, grants formal permission to kill animals for food in all their gates, i.e. at their homes in any part of the land (Deuter. xii, 15, 21). The suppression of the local shrines naturally deprived their ministers of their occupation and means of livelihood: hence the Deuteronomic Law repeatedly enjoins the befriending of the Levites as a needy class (xii, 19; xiv, 27; xvi, 14; xxvi, 11, 12; etc.), and directs that Levites coming up from any part of the land to Jerusalem should have the same right to minister there as those connected with the Temple (xviii, 6-8). In the former Code, the firstlings of the cattle were to be offered to God on the eighth day. But in the new Code, the centralization of worship rendered this impracticable, and hence it was enacted that all firstlings should be offered year by year at the now far-removed place of worship, and even permission was given to sell them at a price with which an equivalent could be purchased in Jerusalem.¹

3. Origin of the Priestly Code. While the Deuteronomic Law is assigned to the period of the struggle for centralization of worship which culminated under Josias, the Priestly Code in its present form is ascribed to a later period, viz., to that of the Babylonian Exile or afterwards. For while in Deuteronomy the unity of the Cultus is commended, and is insisted upon with great emphasis as an end to be reached but not yet secured, in the Priestly Code it is presupposed as a settled principle of Jahweh worship, and one universally acknowledged. This is a most important

¹ Cfr. Deuter. xiv, 23, 26; xv, 19, 20. See also W. H. GREEN, *The Hebrew Feasts*, p. 23 sq.

difference which points at once to the Babylonian exile as its great historical cause. The reformation affected by Josias was of no long duration, owing to the attachment of the people for their ancestral and local shrines, with their more sensual worship than at Jerusalem. Hence, in succeeding reigns, the high places were restored, and things soon returned pretty much to their old condition. To cause a thorough rupture with the past, the people had to be forcibly severed from their holy places and removed to a distant country. The Exile broke the spell, and the small number of Captives who chose to return were naturally those most attached to the worship of Yahweh and best disposed to be guided by their priests. They settled at or near Jerusalem and worshipped at its Holy Mount, henceforth the sole sanctuary recognized by Israel. This practice of the period beginning with the return from Babylon is naturally reflected in the Law which Esdras formally read to a public assembly of these returned Exiles, and to the faithful discharge of which they solemnly pledged themselves.¹

A still more convincing proof of such a late date for the composition of the Priestly Code is found in another striking difference between it and the Deuteronomic Law. In Deuteronomy any member of the tribe of Levi possesses the right to exercise priestly functions, provided he only resides at the central sanctuary;² in the Priestly Code this right is strictly reserved to the descendants of Aaron. Now, on the one hand, the pre-exilic literature of Israel furnishes no ground for supposing that there existed a law distinguishing the sons of Aaron, as the only legitimate priests, from the Levites as inferior ministers;³ and, on the other hand,

¹ Nehem. viii.

² Cfr. Deuter. xviii, 7.

³ The only passage which would be to the contrary, viz., III Kings viii, 4. "*and the priests and the levites carried them,*" is a gloss, as proved by its significant absence from the Septuagint Translation (cfr. H. B. SWETE, *The Old Test. in Greek*, vol. i).

Ezechiel is the first who sets forth such precise distinction between Levites and priests. Yea, more, the distinction which he makes is so drawn as to render it clear that the legal distinction found in the Priestly Code¹ was unknown to him, and consequently did not yet exist. From Ezech. xliv, 10-16, "it seems to follow incontrovertibly that the Levites generally had heretofore (in direct conflict with the provision of P C) enjoyed priestly rights (verse 13): for the future, however, such as had participated in the idolatrous worship of the high places are to be deprived of these rights, and condemned to perform the menial offices which had hitherto been performed by foreigners;² only those Levites who had been faithful in their loyalty to Yahweh, viz., the sons of Sadoc, are henceforth to retain priestly privileges (verse 15). Had the Levites not enjoyed such rights, the prohibition in verse 13 would be superfluous. The supposition that they may have simply *usurped* them is inconsistent with the passage as a whole, which charges the Levites, not with *usurping* rights which they did not possess, but with *abusing* rights which they did possess." ³

Plainly, then, Ezechiel, though a priest, considers as a deprivation of their former rights, an inferior position assigned to the Levites in the name of Yahweh.⁴ But how could he do so, if he had been aware of the ritual law now found in the Priestly Code,⁵ which describes the inferior condition of the Levites as an elevation to the sanctuary-duties through Yahweh's direct and gracious will? And

¹ Numb. xviii.

² Cfr Ezech. xliv, 6-9.

³ DRIVER, *Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test.*, p. 137 sq. (6th edit.). Cfr. CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, vol. i, p. 127 sq.

⁴ This is the view of Father VAN DEN BIESEN (*Dublin Rev.*, Jan. 1893, p. 48 sq.) and other Catholic scholars. The remarks of Abbé MARTIN (*De l'Origine du Pentateuque*, vol. ii, p. 339 sqq.) to the contrary are very unsatisfactory.

⁵ Numb. xviii.

further, if he had been conversant with the regulation of the same Priestly Code which traces back the privileges of the priesthood to Aaron, how could he speak of them as granted to the house of Sadoc, centuries afterwards? The natural inference is the non-existence of a ritual law unknown to the priest and prophet Ezechiel. Furthermore, these undeniable differences between Deuteronomic and Priestly laws can easily be accounted for, if it is granted that the regulation of the latter Code was made after Ezechiel's time. "Before the reformation of Josias, the members of the tribe of Levi appear to have been indiscriminately allowed to exercise the sacerdotal duties. When Josias abolished the high places, he brought those of the priests whom he had spared to Jerusalem. These Bamoth (high-places) priests were not admitted to the service of the altar. 'Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of Yahweh in Jerusalem, but they did eat their portion among their brethren.'¹ Excluded from the exercise of the priesthood, yet not choosing to live on the mere charity of their brethren, the Bamoth priests naturally commenced to take charge of the inferior duties of the Temple. This anomalous state of affairs Ezechiel explains and justifies by a temporary regulation in which the claims to the priesthood are restricted to the House of Sadoc. When, after Ezechiel, the ancient Mosaic institutions were reformulated and collected into the present Priestly Code, Ezechiel's regulation, after it had undergone an immaterial modification, would have been incorporated, confirmed, and sanctioned with Mosaic authority."² In point of fact, in the *Memoirs of Esdras* and *Nehemias* it is plain that some of the priestly laws had been recast,

¹ IV Kings xxiii, 9.

² VAN DEN BIESEN, *loc. cit.*, p. 49. For the other deviations of the Priestly Code from the Deuteronomic Law, which are also naturally explained by the date advanced by critics for P C, see DRIVER, *loc. cit.*, p. 137 sqq.; CARPENTER and BATTERSBY; etc.

since they make a sharp distinction between the Levites and the "priests, the sons of Aaron."¹

Whether the final redaction of the Priestly Code should be assigned to an age much later than Esdras remains a matter of discussion among scholars. Driver ascribes it to the age in which the books of Chronicles were written (about 300 B.C.). For, just as the Deuteronomic Law "determines the attitude which the compiler of Kings, writing at the close of the monarchy, maintains toward the high places," so do the regulations of the Priestly Code "form the standard by which the chronicler consistently judges the earlier history of Israel."²

Be this as it may, according to most critics the Priestly Code, in its present state, appears much later than the Deuteronomic Law, and even than Ezechiel's time, though it contains elements very much older than this period. This twofold aspect of it may be "reconciled by the supposition that the chief ceremonial institutions of Israel are *in their origin* of great antiquity; but that the laws respecting them were gradually developed and elaborated, and, *in the shape in which they are formulated in the Priests' Code*, that they belong to the exilic or early post-exilic period."³

Concluding Remarks.

To conclude our summary of the Internal Evidence in favor of Recent Theories concerning the Authorship of Genesis-Josue, we subjoin a few general remarks:

(1) Owing to the very intimate historical and literary connection between the first six books of the Old Testament, Genesis-Josue may be spoken of as a Hexateuch;

¹ Nehem. xii, 47; etc.

² DRIVER, loc. cit., p. 139.

³ DRIVER, loc. cit., p. 142. See also VAN DEN BIESEN, Dublin Rev., Jan. 1893, p. 51 sqq.

this was admitted long ago, by such Catholic scholars as Masius, Bonfrère, S.J., Geddes, Hanneberg, etc., and by such recent writers as Lagrange, O.P., Loisy, Robert, Von Hügel, etc., etc.¹

(2) The internal evidence alleged in favor of the Recent Theories may be disengaged from the objectionable features which Rationalists have associated with it, and be brought into harmony with the data of Revelation; for, as we noted at each step in the argument, Catholic scholars who have closely examined its various parts have seen their way to reconcile with orthodoxy the true facts and solid inferences of the Higher Criticism.² One of them, Gottfried Hoberg, Professor in the University of Freiburg, and our latest commentator on Genesis, openly declares³ that "the sentence: Moses has composed the Pentateuch, should not be understood as if every word, part of verse or verse came from Moses without exception; but that the true sense in which the Mosaic authorship may be maintained is that the Pentateuch is the product of the religious development extending from Moses to the time of the Babylonian Exile, on the basis of decisions (Bestimmungen) written by Moses and forming, as far as bulk and importance are concerned, the greatest part of the Old Testament Law-book." According to him, such legal development of Mosaic thought must have taken place in the course of ages to bring it into harmony with new conditions in the national life, and when formulated by inspired writers may have become a constituent part of the Mosaic collection, in the same legitimate way as Psalms written by different authors, but in the spirit

¹ For grounds in favor of that view, see CARPENTER and BATTERSEY, *The Hexateuch*, vol. ii, p. 303.

² For a distinct examination of this point, cfr. LAGRANGE, O.P., *Les Sources du Pentateuque*, *Rev. Biblique*, 1898, pp. 10-32; see also Card. Newman's position in "The Nineteenth Century," February 1884.

³ *Die Genesis*, June 1899, p. xxvii.

of David, were actually incorporated in "the Davidic Psalter."¹

(3) When one bears in mind that—as granted on all hands, and fully borne out by a comparison between the first three Gospels in the New Testament, between Kings and Chronicles in the Old Testament, between the third book of Esdras and our canonical books of Paralipomenon and Esdras—ancient Eastern historians did not, as a rule, *rewrite* in their own language the matter supplied by their documents, but simply embodied these sources in their own works with only such modifications of style, representation, etc., as they thought desirable, he readily sees how the inference of severalfold authorship asserted by modern theories on the basis of subsisting differences of style and representation, of repetitions and discrepancies, etc., becomes antecedently probable. In fact, the *Diatessaron* or compilation into one continuous narrative of Our Lord's life from the texts of our separate Gospels, by Tatian, the disciple of St. Justin, some 60 or 80 years after the composition of the last Gospel, affords an exact parallel to the work of compilation which contemporary scholars claim was done in reference to the four great documents (J. E. D. P.) of the Hexateuch.²

(4) The more one becomes acquainted with the work done by critics during the nineteenth century on the composition and authorship of Genesis-Josue, the more he is also struck by the amount of agreement which exists among them. It is true "it is often urged that there is no stability,

¹ HOBERG, loc. cit., p. 25.

² This Harmony or *Diatessaron* of Tatian, published in Arabic and Latin by Father CIASCA (Rome, 1888) has been translated into English, and may be found in vol. ix of the Ante-Nicene Library (Amer. Edit.). For an excellent exposition of the parallelism between the *Diatessaron* and our Hexateuch, see CARPENTER and BATTERSEY, *The Hexateuch*, vol. i, p. 8 sqq. See also the article "Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the Analysis of the Pentateuch," by Prof. G. F. Moore, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. ix, p. 201.

no unanimity among the critics: *tot homines, tot sententiæ*. But here we must be on our guard against first appearances; for in this, as in other branches of human research, men do not debate on points of agreement, but on points of difference, and hence their continuous conflicts on even fresh points are quite compatible with accord, and ever-increasing accord, on an ever-increasing number of other points. And such stability can be found here. Jean Astruc, 1753, attributed in the first eleven chapters of Genesis 137 verses to his document A (our P). I have carefully compared his analysis with that given in Kautzsch's German Bible, 1896, and find that 110½ of these verses are still attributed to P; that is, 140 years and more of ceaseless criticism have left over four-fifths of his conclusions on this his most important point intact. . . . As to unanimity, let the reader go through Holzinger's tables on the analysis of the documents, in which he gives for each verse of the Hexateuch the analyses of the five contemporary, mutually independent specialists, Dillmann, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Budde, Cornill; and he will quickly find that they are here, although otherwise so different, in remarkably substantial agreement. Or let him take Dr. Briggs' list of 45 living German, 10 French, 6 Dutch, 22 British and 20 American scholars, who are all essentially agreed as to the critical analysis of the Hexateuch. . . . And so also as regards the types and stages of the Law. Here again there is practical unanimity as to the three types of the Law: Book of the Covenant, Deuteronomy, Priestly Code; as to the first of these being the most primitive type; and as to Deuteronomy, in its present form, being not older than the reign of Manasses. The battle is here confined to the question as to the correct succession and relationship between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, and as to the dates of the latter."¹ Owing,

¹ Baron VON HÜGEL, in *The Catholic University Bulletin*, April 1898, p. 222 sq.

then, to this wonderful agreement of scholars concerning the main lines of critical analysis of the Hexateuch, it may be safely asserted that, in connection with them, as in connection with those admitted by specialists in Historical Geology, future work, instead of reversing, will rather confirm them.

(5) Lastly, it must be stated that with regard to a certain number of facts appealed to, and of inferences admitted by the advocates of the Recent Theories respecting the authorship of Genesis-Josue, even some Catholic scholars whose traditional views are well known have already made admissions which may perhaps be regarded as an omen of a complete endorsement, at no distant date, of the other positions already regarded as certain, or nearly so, by other no less orthodox writers. In view of the importance which thus attaches to the main results held as certain by contemporary critics, they will be briefly set forth in connection with the literary structure of each separate book of the Hexateuch, in the next chapters.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER IV.

DIVISION I. THE OPENING HISTORICAL BOOKS: GENESIS-JOSUE.

Chapter IV. The Historical Character of the Book of Genesis.

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| <p>I.</p> <p>GENERAL REMARKS:</p> | { | <p>1. The Compilatory Character of Genesis not opposed to the Historical Value of the Book.</p> <p>2. The Historical Character of Genesis questioned chiefly because of Narratives in Genesis i-xi.</p> |
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| <p>II.</p> <p>THE FIRST ACCOUNT
OF CREATION:
(GEN. I-II, 4^a).</p> | { | <p>1. Its Principal Features.</p> <p>2. Its Comparison with the Assyro-Babylonian Cosmogony.</p> <p>3. The Hexaëmeron, or the Six Days of Creation.</p> |
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| <p>III.</p> <p>THE SECOND ACCOUNT
OF CREATION:
(GEN. II, 4^b-25).</p> | { | <p>1. Differences from Account in Gen. i-ii, 4^a</p> <p>2. Creation of Adam and Eve.</p> |
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| <p>IV.</p> <p>THE NARRATIVE
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| <p>V.</p> <p>THE NARRATIVE
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(VI, 9-IX, 17).</p> | { | <p>1. The Structure of the Biblical Narrative.</p> <p>2. The Flood and the Assyro-Babylonian Account thereof.</p> <p>3. The Universality of the Flood.</p> |
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- VI. DIFFICULTIES AND PROBABILITIES CONCERNING THE
PRIMITIVE CHRONOLOGY.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

§ I. *General Remarks.*

I. The Compilatory Character of Genesis not opposed to the Historical Value of the Book. Of all the questions which belong to the Special Introduction to the Old Testament, none, outside that of the Composition and Authorship of the Hexateuch dealt with in the foregoing chapters, has been the object of more attention and labor than that of the Historical Value of Genesis. On the one hand, unbelievers have naturally looked upon a book which professes to recount the origin of the world, of the human race, of the earliest arts and civilization, etc., as affording to them vantage-ground could they but succeed in disproving its historical character, and thereby undermine the very basis of Revelation. In consequence, they have appealed to historical, archæological, geological, astronomical, etc., evidence to disprove its reliability, and have spared no pains to liken it to the more or less mythological records of similar events among the Semitic tribes and the Eastern religions. On the other hand, Christian scholars, thoroughly alive to the necessity of defending in its very outset the history of Divine Revelation, have followed their opponents step by step and endeavored not simply to dispose of their difficulties, but also to show the positive historical and religious value of the book of Genesis. In particular, they have rightly insisted that the compilatory character of

the sacred record, which became more and more manifest during the nineteenth century, far from going against, makes powerfully for, its historical character. As a compilation from three several and ancient documents, well preserved in respect of style, integrity, etc., Genesis supplies the student of history with different sources of information, the independence of which is proved by their very divergences. It also furnishes him with a ready means of accounting for the discrepancies noticeable in the narrative in its present form, and of showing how, in its general texture, it bears the impress of the compilatory character common to the ancient historical books of the East.¹ In fact, those Christian scholars who maintain most firmly the full historical character of Genesis have no difficulty in harmonizing that view with the compilation of the book from ancient traditions, documents, etc., by the great lawgiver of Israel.

2. The Historical Character of Genesis attacked chiefly because of Narratives in Chapters i-xi. Although cast into a framework or scheme marked by the formula "These are the generations (*Tol'dhoth*, lit. begettings) of," which recurs ten times, and thus divides the book into ten sections, the narrative of Genesis contains really two great parts. The first (chaps. i-xi) presents a general view of the *Early History of Mankind*, recording the Creation of the world and the first human pair (i, ii), explaining the presence of evil in the world (iii), sketching the beginnings of civilization (iv), describing the Flood and God's covenant with Noe (vi-ix), accounting for the existence of separate nations, and determining the relation which the chosen people holds to them (x-xi, 26). The second and longer part (xii-l) deals with *Patriarchal* history, recording

¹ To enable the reader to realize for himself the bearing of these remarks, we give the following Synopsis, taken from "The Hexateuch" by CARPENTER and BATTERSBY (vol. i). It exhibits the Contents of Genesis as generally divided by scholars. The

in considerable detail the lives of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the great immediate ancestors of the Hebrew nation.

sections which are composite are marked by the sign §. The Hebrew spelling of proper names has been modified.

Synopsis

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GENESIS

Part I. Early History of Mankind.

24b-3 Creation and fall.	1-24a <i>Toledhoth</i> of the heavens and the earth : creation.
4-529 Early history of mankind.	. . . . .	51-28, 30-32 <i>Toledhoth</i> of Adam : early history of mankind.
61-4 Sons of God and daughters of men.		
65-88 Corruption of the earth, and flood.	. . . . .	69-88 <i>Toledhoth</i> of Noe : corruption of the earth, and flood.
		91-17 Noachic law and covenant.
918-108 Noe and the dispersion.	. . . . .	928-108 Death of Noe : <i>toledhoth</i> of the sons of Noe : the dispersion.
111-9 The tower of Babel.		

Part II. History of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

1128-30 Abram's family.	. . . . .	1110-27 <i>Toledhoth</i> of Sem : <i>toledhoth</i> of Thare : lineage of Abram.
121-4a, 6-9 Migration of Abram and promise of the Land.	. . . . .	1131, 125 4b Migration of Thare and Abram.
1210-131 Abram in Egypt.		
132-18§ Separation of Abram and Lot.	. . . . .	136a 11b 12a Separation of Abram and Lot.
14 Invasion of Chodorlahomor and his allies.		
15§ Promise of seed and covenant-gift of the land.	151. 5 Promise of seed.	
	16 Return in the fourth generation.	
161b 2 Barrenness of Sara.	. . . . .	161a 3 Barrenness of Sara.
164-14 Expulsion of Agar, promise of Ismael.	(|| 218-21.)	1615. Birth of Ismael.
181-15 Promise of a son to Sara.	. . . . .	17 Revelation of El Shaddai : promise of the land and of a son : ordinance of circumcision.
1816-33 Intercession for Sodom.		

Of these two main parts of Genesis, the latter is confessedly the one whose historical character is the more easily established. However removed from the events

J	E	P
191-28 Overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrha: Lot escapes.	. . . . .	1929 Overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrha: Lot escapes.
1930-38 Origin of Moab and Ammon.		
211a 2a 7 Birth of Isaac.	20 Abraham at Gerara (cf. 1210-20 266-11).	211b 2b-5 Birth and circumcision of Isaac.
(|| 164-14.)	216 Reference to Isaac's name.	
2128-30 33 Abimelech and Abraham: Bersabee.	218-21 Expulsion of Agar and Ismael.	
	2122-27 31. 34 Abimelech and Abraham: Bersabee.	
2220-24 Family of Nachor.	221-19 The sacrifice of Isaac averted.	
24 A wife for Isaac.		23 Death of Sara: cave of Machpelah purchased.
251-6 11b Children of Cetura and of the concubines.		
2518 Descendants of Abraham between Hevila and Sur.		257-11a Death and burial of Abraham.
		2512-17 <i>Toledhoth</i> of Ismael.
2521-28§ Rebecca's children.	2525b 27 Rebecca's children.	2519. <i>Toledhoth</i> of Isaac: his age at marriage.
	2529-34 Esau sells his birth-right. (|| 20 2125-32§.)	2526b Isaac's age at his children's birth.
261-33 Isaac at Gerara.		
27§ Isaac blesses Jacob, who flees to Laban.	27§ Isaac blesses Jacob, who flees to Laban.	2634. Esau's wives.
		281-5 Isaac blesses Jacob and sends him to Laban.
2810-21§ Revelation of Yahweh at Bethel.	2811-22§ Revelation of Elohims angels at Bethel.	286-9 Esau takes additional wives. (|| 359-13 15.)
292-14 Jacob received by Laban.	291 Jacob journeys to the East.	
29. 26.. Marriages with Lia and Rachel.	2915-30§ Marriages with Lia and Rachel.	29. 24. 28 Marriages with Lia and Rachel: Zelpha and Bala.
2931-35 The children of Lia.	301-3a Rachel envies Lia.	
303b-13§ Jacob's children by the concubines.	306 8§ Jacob's children by the concubines.	
3014-16 Lia and the mandrakes.	3017-20 Children of Lia.	301r Lia bears Dina: 22a God remembers Rachel.
3022-24§ Rachel bears Joseph.	3022b 22b Rachel bears Joseph.	
3025 Jacob proposes to depart.	3026 Jacob proposes to depart.	
3027-43§ Jacob's wages and wealth.	3028-40b§ Jacob's wages.	
311 Motives for return.	312-16 Motives for return.	3118b Jacob's migration.

which they narrate, and varying in many of the details which they record, the three main sources at the basis of the Patriarchal history exhibit a remarkable agreement as

J	E	P
3117 18a Jacob's departure.	3119-21 Jacob's flight.	
3125-50§ Laban's pursuit: the heap.	3122-55§ Laban's pursuit: the pillar and the heap.	
	321. God's host at Mahanaim.	
323-21§ The present for Esau.		
322a 23b Jacob sends his wives and children across the Jaboc.	3213a 22b 23ac Jacob crosses the Jaboc with his wives and children.	
3224-32§ The wrestling at Phauel.	3230 Phauel.	
331-16 Jacob meets Esau, who then returns to Seir.		
3317 Jacob builds a house at Socoth.		
	3318ac Jacob comes to Salem.	3318b Jacob comes to Sichem.
	3319. Purchase of ground and erection of altar.	
34§ The seduction of Dina, and war with the Sichemites.	[An E story beneath Ps.]	34§ The wooing of Dina, and war with the Sichemites.
	351-5 The strange gods buried by Sichem.	
3514 The pillar (at Bethel).	356b-7 The altar at Bethel.	356a 9-13 15 Revelation of El Shaddai at Luza (Bethel) cf. 2§10-22 and cp 171. . .
	35§ Death of Debora.	3522b-26 The sons of Jacob.
3516-20 Birth of Benjamin: death of Rachel.	. . . . .
3521 22a Ruben and Bala.		
		3527-29 Death and burial of Isaac.
3631-39 The kings of Edom.	. . . . .	361-30 40-43 <i>Toledhoth</i> of Esau, migration, and descendants
		371 2a c Jacob in Chanaan: <i>toledhoth</i> of Jacob.
372b-35§ Jacob's partiality to Joseph (gift of the coat) excites his brothers' hatred: they sell him to Ismaelites.	375-35§ Joseph's dreams excite his brothers' envy: they throw him into a pit, and he is kidnapped by Madianites, who sell him to Putiphare, Pharaoh's chief executioner.	
38 Judah and Thamar.		
39§ Joseph, bought from the Ismaelites by an Egyptian, is tempted by his wife, and imprisoned.	394b 6ac 7a Joseph serves his master.	
4015 Joseph protests his innocence.	40 Joseph interprets the dreams of the chief cup-bearer and chief baker in the house of the chief executioner.	
4114b Joseph is brought out from the dungeon.	411-28 Pharaoh's dreams are interpreted by Joseph.	

to the general course of events. This in turn points to the existence of what Prof. Kittel calls "a solid core of harmonious traditional matter, which supplies the primary condition of a real history."¹ All the objections hurled against

J	E	P
4131-36 Measures against the famine.	4128-36§ Measures against the famine.	
4141-45a 46b Pharaoh appoints Joseph over Egypt: his marriage.	4137-40 Pharaoh appoints Joseph over his house.	4145b 46a Pharaoh appoints Joseph over Egypt: his age.
4149 Corn laid up as the sand of the sea.	4147. The food of the good years stored in the cities.	
	4150-52 Birth of Manasses and Ephraim.	
4156a 57 The famine outside Egypt.	4153-56b§ The famine begins in Egypt.	
42§ Joseph's brothers go to buy corn, and are recognized; . . . on the journey back one of them finds his money in his sack's mouth.	42§ Joseph's ten brothers go to buy corn, are recognized, and required to bring Benjamin: Simeon is bound: on their return their money is found in their sacks.	
431-13 15-34 The brothers' second journey, with Benjamin.	4314 [The brothers go again with Benjamin] Jacob's prayer for Simeon and Benjamin.	
44 The cup in Benjamin's sack.		
45§ Joseph makes himself known, and sends his brothers to fetch Jacob to live in the land of Gessen.	45§ Joseph makes himself known: Pharaoh instructs him to invite Jacob to settle in Egypt.	
461a Israel's journey.	462-4 1b 5 Vision at Bersabee: Jacob starts for Egypt.	460-27 Migration of Jacob and his descendants to Egypt.
4628-4712§ Arrival of Israel with flocks and herds in Gessen: Pharaoh sanctions their settlement there.	. . . . .	475-11 Arrival and settlement in the land of Ramesses.
4713-26 Joseph's famine-administration.		
4727a 29-31 Israel in Gessen: his approaching death.	. . . . .	4727b 28 Prosperity of Jacob in Egypt: his age.
482b-19§ Israel blesses Joseph's two sons.	481-22§ Jacob blesses Joseph's two sons.	483-7 Jacob adopts Joseph's two sons, into El Shaddai's blessing at Luz.
491b-27 Jacob declares what shall befall his sons: 33b prepares for death.	. . . . .	491a 28-33a c Jacob blesses his sons, gives them a charge, and dies.
501-14§ The burial of Jacob.		5012. The burial of Jacob.
5018-24§ Joseph comforts his brothers, and announces a divine visitation.	5015-26§ Joseph allays his brothers' fears, announces a divine visitation, and dies.	

¹ A History of the Hebrews, vol. i, p. 168 (Engl. Transl.).

the value of the primitive history—such as: it wears the garb of a mere family history; the patriarchs are at one and the same time individuals and the ancestors of the tribes of Israel; their history is in many respects interwoven with reminiscences of a later period and filled with views, sympathies, which belong to the times of the author—are in no way valid against this core of the patriarchal history. None of them “forbids our regarding the patriarchs as tribal chiefs, each of whom stood at the head of a nomad tribe already existing and subject to himself, to which, as its leader, he gave the name it subsequently bore. The family histories of Genesis are thus simply the form in which the events of a far-distant past were preserved in the popular tradition of later generations.”¹ The positions assumed by so rationalistic a writer as Ewald († 1875) in reference to this general historical character of Genesis xii–l, deserve also to be mentioned. According to him, “a rigorous scrutiny discovers a solid background of fact to these primitive histories,”² and the reason he gives for it is briefly as follows. All accounts agree in setting forth as the divine purpose that Abraham and the other patriarchs shall provisionally take possession of the land of Chanaan;³ yet they are never represented as actually possessing the whole. They are confined to a part of it, and indeed to a different and very limited district in it. Abraham dwells in the South, pasturing alternately in the districts of Mambre-Hebron and Bersabee-Gerara. Isaac settles chiefly in the Negeb, and Jacob in the country about Sichem. If these patriarchs had never actually lived in Chanaan; if their abode there and their very personality had been merely legendary, it might have been naturally expected that later legends would have

¹ R. KITTEL, *ibid.*, p. 170.

² Heinrich EWALD, *The History of Israel*, vol. i, p. 305 (Engl. Transl., London, 1876).

³ Gen. xv, 7; xvii, 8; xxvi, 3; xxviii, 13; etc.

assigned a larger area, and a more lasting hold of it, to the ancestors of Israel.

In another respect, viz., in respect to the details supplied by the narrative, the patriarchal history betokens a wonderful superiority over the mythological records of heathen antiquity. As is well said by Renan,¹ "the golden age of the Aryans has quite as many documents to back it up as the patriarchal age, and yet the former is only a dream. The two cases do not run on parallel lines. The patriarchal age existed; it exists still in those countries where the nomad life of the Arabs is preserved in its original purity."²

It is clear, then, that the historical value of the second part of Genesis can be easily shown as regards the substance of its narratives. Indeed, even scholars who most readily grant that the Biblical record contains anachronisms, idealized past events, etc., feel bound to confess that "the attempts to resolve the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob into abstract personifications of tribes, or into primitive tribal gods, have admittedly failed,"³ and that "in the particulars of patriarchal history we have in many respects historic ground beneath our feet."⁴ It seems, however, to many, that the case stands differently with the first part of Genesis. The various narratives in Gen. i-xi are surrounded with such difficulties that, speaking of their historical value, the learned Card. Meignan writes these significant words: "One should not look in the first chapters of Genesis so much for the strict history of the world and of mankind, as for a religious and philosophical account of that same history."⁵ Instead, therefore, of confining ourselves to general

¹ History of the People of Israel, vol. i, p. xiii sq. (Engl. Transl.).

² For details respecting this point, see my "Outlines of Jewish History" (First Period), and authorities there referred to.

³ HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible, vol. i, p. 147.

⁴ KITTEL, *ibid.*, p. 172.

⁵ De l'Eden à Moïse, p. 102 (Paris, 1895).

remarks concerning their historical value, we shall examine briefly the character of each of the principal narratives contained in Gen. i-xi.

§ 2. *The First Account of Creation (i-ii, 4^a).*

1. Its Principal Features. The book of Genesis opens with a first account of Creation which has been very closely scrutinized by the best scientists and historians and theologians of the nineteenth century, and the leading features of which have naturally formed the groundwork of their theories respecting its scientific and historical value. Among those features, it imports most to bear in mind the following: (1) The narrative exhibits a repetition more or less regular and periodical of a certain number of expressions ("and God said"; "and it was so"; "and there was evening, and there was morning, day one," "day second," etc.), some of which seem to mark the end of lyrical sections analogous to poetical strophes, and have led several interpreters to consider the whole account as a sacred hymn.¹ (2) This apparently poetical feature of the first account of Creation should not make us lose sight of its form as a historical narrative, which describes the creative works as produced through a series of distinct operations, and thus fittingly opens the first historical book of the Old Testament.² (3) The Biblical account uses a popular, not a scientific, mode of presentation,³ speaking of the things of nature according as they come under the senses or were considered by men of old; thus we read of the sun and moon as the two greater luminaries; of the waters under and over the firmament; etc. (4) The writer speaks of God and His work as we would of

¹ This is the view of FABRE D'ENVIEU, DAWSON, BRIGGS, etc.

² Cfr. KEIL and DELITZSCH, *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, vol. i, p. 37 sq. (Engl. Transl.).

³ Cfr. REUSCH, *Nature and the Bible*, vol. i, p. 98 sqq. (Engl. Transl., 1886).

one of our fellow-men whom we would have seen at work during six successive days and at rest on the seventh. (5) In treating of created things, the first chapter of Genesis lays stress on those which stand in the most direct relation to man, and considers them from the standpoint of their relation to him. (6) Lastly and chiefly, the first account of Creation has an essentially religious aim and character; it aims at inculcating more particularly the doctrinal truth that God created the whole visible universe, and the liturgical precept that the seventh day must be sanctified as a day of rest.¹

2. Its Comparison with the Assyro-Babylonian Cosmogony. From among the fragmentary remains of the ancient literature of Babylonia and Assyria deposited in the British Museum Mr. George Smith recovered and deciphered a cuneiform story of creation which exhibits striking resemblances to the Biblical record. It is in the form of an epic poem written on a series of tablets,² which, though incomplete, admit of being rearranged in their original order, so as to allow us to realize the succession of incidents as they were primitively told. The tablets appear to have been seven in number, the second and sixth of which are now wanting. "From the first we learn that in the beginning there existed only 'the watery chaos' [Mummu-Tiamat] out of which sprang the primal gods Lachmu and Lachamu, next An-Sar and Ki-Sar, the upper and lower firmament, and then the Assyrian gods Anu, god of the sky, Bel, or Illil, god of the spirit-world, and Ea, god of waters. The third and fourth tablets record the

¹ Cfr. REUSCH, *ibid.*, p. 89 sq., p. 95; Abbé MOTAIS, *Origine du Monde d'après la Tradition*, p. 7 sqq.

² For an English translation of the poem, see A. H. SAYCE, *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i, pp. 133-146; E. SCHRADER, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. Cfr. also VIGOUROUX, *Bible et Découvertes Modernes*, vol. i, p. 218 sqq. (6th edit.).

creation of light, which was represented in the victory of Marduk (Merodach) son of Ea, god of light, over Tiamat, while out of the carcass of the slaughtered Tiamat (the personified ocean-flood) was constructed the vast expanse of the heavens. The fifth tablet tells how the sun and moon and stars were implanted in the sky, and received divine command to regulate the succession of times and seasons, of days and years. The sixth tablet, which has not yet been found, must have recorded the formation of the earth and the creation of the vegetable world, of birds and fishes. The seventh and last tablet tells how the cattle and the larger beasts, and all creeping things, were made. Unfortunately the latter part is much mutilated, and the description of the formation of man has not survived.”¹

Between these contents and those of the first chapter of Genesis the coincidences are numerous and striking. “In each case the history of Creation is divided into seven successive acts; in each case the present world has been preceded by a watery chaos. In fact, the self-same word is used of this chaos in both the Biblical and Assyrian accounts,—*Tehom*, Tiamat,—the only difference being that, in the Assyrian story, ‘the deep’ has become a mythological personage, the mother of a chaotic brood. The order of the Creation, moreover, agrees in the two accounts: first, the light; then, the creation of the firmament of heaven; subsequently, the appointment of the celestial bodies ‘for signs and for seasons and for days and years’; and next, the creation of beasts and ‘creeping things.’”²

On the other hand, there are significant differences between the two accounts. The Babylonian story knows nothing of the Biblical division into days, and its seventh

¹ Herbert E. RYLE, *The Early Narratives of Genesis*, p. 18.

² SAYCE, *loc. cit.*, p. 130. For further parallels, see T. K. CHEYNE in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i, col. 941, § 6.

tablet is taken up with a description not of divine rest, but of creative work. In the Assyro-Babylonian record, the production of light results from the conflict between a deity and chaos;¹ in Genesis, it is called into being by the word of God. In the former account, the heavenly bodies are set in the heavens before the apparition of the earth; in the second, the dry land appears before the luminaries are allotted their place in the firmament. The former is a thorough-going polytheistic, the latter an absolutely monotheistic, cosmogony. In the former, both gods and the visible universe emerge from a spontaneously generative chaos, and the new order is the result of the triumph of divine power over the forces of matter inherently evil; in the latter, God speaks and His will is carried out, and all creation from "the beginning" is His work, and indeed a "very good" work.

But, despite these differences, scholars agree in admitting a positive kinship between the Biblical and Assyro-Babylonian records of Creation; and this most justly. The Hebrews and Babylonians belong to the same Semitic race. The ancestors of the Hebrew nation migrated from Mesopotamia, and its prominent leaders, after having long lived in contact with Assyrian and Babylonian thought (from at least the 7th cent. B.C. downwards), were finally carried back captives to the cradle-lands of their forefathers. Besides, the resemblances in conception are very great between the two accounts of Creation. There can therefore be no reasonable doubt of a real relationship between the two cosmogonic traditions.

It is only when they endeavor to define the precise relation between the two accounts that critics are at variance. According to some, the Jews became first acquainted with the Assyro-Babylonian record of Creation at the time of the

¹ A conflict of that description is perhaps alluded to in Apocalypse xii, 7-9. Cfr. VIGOUROUX, *loc. cit.*, p. 227.

Babylonian Exile, and brought it back to their own country after it had been adapted to their own religious use. This theory runs counter to much that is regarded as well ascertained in literary criticism,¹ and admits too readily that the pious Jews of the Exile would adopt a narrative of Creation in vogue among their hated heathen conquerors:² it seems therefore untenable. According to others, a much earlier period must be sought for the time when Israel became acquainted with the Babylonian tale, which then embodied the primitive tradition of the human race under elaborate mythological forms, but which, gradually modified, assumed the purified Hebrew form. The argument in favor of this theory is briefly as follows: In the Biblical account there is a complete obliteration of the polytheistic elements of the origin of the gods, and the gigantic struggle between Tiamat and Marduk, which preceded the creative process in the Babylonian myth. On the other hand, it contains certain features which clearly reveal a primitive Babylonian type.³ Such an elimination of heathen features must therefore be referred to the spiritual influences of the religion of Israel working upon the Assyro-Babylonian cosmogony. The advocates of this theory further admit that the Babylonian record became known in Palestine some time before 1450 B.C., that is at a time when, as is well known, Chanaan adopted several features of Babylonian civilization (including measures of weight and money), and this admission greatly enhances the probability of their position. Nevertheless, many prefer to hold a third theory, which regards the two accounts as having for common basis a tradition going back to much earlier times still, and the data of which were gradually developed on independent lines and in different ways

¹ Cfr. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE, art. Cosmogony, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 505; DELITZSCH, *New Commentary on Genesis*, vol. i, p. 63 sq. (Engl. Transl.).

² See, however, CHEYNE'S positions in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i, col. 945, §§ 11, 12.

³ See H. ZIMMERN, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i, col. 940, § 4.

among the Israelites and the Babylonians. The main advantage of this last opinion is to make plainer how the Biblical account is not only purer, but also nearer the primitive source of information, than the epic poem of Babylonia.¹

3. The Six Days of Creation, or the Hexaëmeron.

Among the features of the first Biblical account of Creation which are foreign to the Assyro-Babylonian record, two especially have attracted the attention of scholars, viz. : the framework of the six days, and the Sabbath-day. For the sake of brevity, we shall deal only with the former of these difficult topics.

In regard to the six days of Creation, three principal theories must be mentioned. The first, usually called *literal*, understands the Biblical record as containing a scientific account of the processes of Creation, which occupied six literal days or periods of twenty-four hours. This theory interprets the work of the six days, as it is obviously represented, as a work of creation, and the word "day" in the same natural sense as the words "light," "heaven," etc., which are used in the Biblical account, the more so because each creative day is made up of two distinct parts,—the one which extends from the apparition of light till darkness sets in (called day), and the other from the evening till light appears again (called night),—and because the series of the six days of creative work, followed by a day of rest, clearly resembles our week or series of the six days of human work, followed also by a day of rest.² However much in favor among theologians and commentators this interpretation has been in past ages, it is upheld at the present day only by a few "who still cling to the old theory either in defiance or in

¹ Cfr. VIGOUROUX, loc. cit., p. 237. As regards VON HUMMELAUER's very improbable opinion that the Hebrew narrative contains *almost word for word* the primitive revelation granted to Adam, see *Revue Biblique*, 1896, p. 402 sq.

² Cfr. Gen. i, 3-5, etc.; Exod. xx, 8-11.

ignorance of facts":¹ geology and astronomy have scientifically proved "that, according to the working of the Omnipotent Creator's will, gradual change through infinite ages must have been the process which governed alike the evolution of sidereal systems, the moulding of the earth's crust, and the appearance of the animal and vegetable kingdoms upon its surface."²

A second theory, which has been called *Concordistic*, from its distinct purpose of harmonizing the Biblical account with the data of science, was therefore framed to take the place of the old literal one. To avert the threatened contradiction of Scripture and science, Biblical scholars and theologians in great numbers³ claimed that "the days" meant not literal days, but vast periods in the development of the earth's formation, and that thus understood the words of Genesis received unexpected confirmation from the testimony of science. The principal exegetical grounds which they appealed to were: (1) The Hebrew word *yôm* (day) may mean, and actually means in many passages of Holy Writ, an uncertain period of time; for instance, in Gen. ii, 4; Exod. x, 6; Levit. vii, 35, 36; Numb. vii, 10; Deuter. ix, 24; Ps. ii, 7; Amos iii, 14; Nahum iii, 17; etc., etc., and especially in Gen. ii, 2, 3, where it is applied to the seventh day, which is not yet ended. (2) The word *yôm* is the only one in Hebrew that expresses the idea of *period* of time. (3) The writer of the first account of Creation aimed at bringing forth the analogy between the divine week of Creation and the human week, and was thereby led to speak of *seven days*, the precise duration of which it was not his object to

¹ P. SCHANZ, *A Christian Apology*, vol. i, p. 349 (Engl. Transl.).

² RYLE, *Early Narratives of Genesis*, p. 24. Details will be found in any work on *Geology and Astronomy*; see also F. H. REUSCH, *Nature and the Bible*, vol. i, p. 294 sqq.

³ Among them we may mention Pianciani, Palmieri, Meignan, Vigouroux, Corluy, Hamard, Pozzy, Raingeard, etc., etc.

specify. As a scientific basis for their theory, the Concordists set forth, at first, very close harmonistic accounts of the Biblical and geological records ; but since then they have been satisfied with affirming that the days of Genesis correspond to the *main outlines* made known to us by physical science. Here is a brief scheme showing the general parallelism they claim to exist between Scriptural Cosmogony and the scientific history of the earth :

Verses 1-2 : Creation of matter and production of light.	Cosmic Era.	Gaseous or Nebular Period.
Second Day : Formation of the atmosphere.	Geogenic or Azoic Era.	Formation of the Earth's crust.
Third Day : Bringing forth of Vegetation.	Era Primary or Paleozoic.	Cambrian, Silurian, Devonian, Carboniferous Formations.
Fourth Day : Apparition of the Stars.	Primary Era (concluded).	Permian Formation.
Fifth Day : Animals of the Water and Air.	Secondary Era (Mesozoic).	Triassic, Jurassic, Cretaceous Formations.
Sixth Day : { Land Animals.	Tertiary Era (Cænozoic).	Eocene, Miocene, Pliocene Formations.
{ Man.	Quaternary Era.	Post-Pliocene.
Seventh Day : Period of Human History.—No species.	Human History.—No apparition of any new species.	

In reality, both the exegetical and the scientific grounds appealed to by Concordists can hardly be considered as valid. The Hebrew word *yôm* has not the meaning of a long period of time,¹ and this meaning would never have been connected with it but for the modern discoveries of science. Even the acceptance of this meaning fails to satisfy fully the demands of scientific facts : such clear-cut geological periods as would correspond to the days of Genesis have never existed ; animals and early vegetables have co-existed on the globe in the paleozoic formations ; the higher species of plants, the coniferæ and the fruit-trees spoken of

¹ Cfr. VON HUMMELAUER, in *Genesisism*, p. 61 ; SEMERIA, in *Revue Biblique*, 1893, p. 493, etc.

in the Bible in connection with the third day, appeared only later in the Mesozoic and Cænozoic formations ; the earth was not created before the celestial bodies, since its motion is dependent on the sun ; finally, it is not proven that the vegetables, even those belonging to the Paleozoic era, were deprived of the light of the sun.¹

It is easy to understand how, struck by such important differences between the positive results of science and the Biblical record understood as containing information in regard to scientific topics, many scholars have fallen back on the *Ideal* interpretation of "the days" of Genesis. According to the *allegorical* form of this very old theory,² the author of the Biblical account did not intend to convey historical truth concerning the succession and duration of vast periods in the gradual formation of heaven and earth. His purpose was to impart religious teaching, in a concrete and popular manner, by means of the scientific notions of his time.³ This religious teaching is twofold: first, God is the Creator of each and all the parts of the universe; secondly, the Sabbath must be kept as a holyday. Under its *poetical* form as propounded by Bp. Clifford,⁴ the *ideal* theory regards the first account of Creation as a hymn which recalls the consecration of each day of the week to the remembrance of some work of the true God, sole Creator of heaven and earth. This consecration is opposed to the Egyptian usage of dedicating the days of the week to the sun, moon and planets. Since this hymn is not a historical

¹ Cfr. F. H. REUSCH, loc. cit., p. 338 sq. (Edinburgh, 1886).

² It has numbered among its advocates such ancient writers as Aristobulus (2d cent. B.C.), Philo († 40 A.D.), Clement of Alexandria († ab. 220), Origen († 254), St. Athanasius († 373), St. Augustine († 430), etc.

³ Of the *allegorical* interpretation as propounded by St. Augustine, St. Thomas says: "Est rationabilior, et magis ab irrisione infidelium sacram Scripturam defendens . . . et hæc opinio plus mihi placet" (In II libr. Sententiarum, Distinct. xii, art. ii).

⁴ Cfr. Dublin Review, April 1881. See an examination of Clifford's views by Father DE FOVIELE, in Revue des Questions Scientifiques, Jan. 1882.

account, but a ritual work, the facts which it states must be viewed as those of any writing of the same kind: each day means a period of 24 hours; the names of creatures, "abyss," "firmament," etc., are those commonly received in Egypt; the order in which the different works of creation actually took place is beside the purpose of the writer, etc. Under its *revelation* or *vision* form, the chief advocate of which is Von Hummelauer, S.J.,¹ the *ideal* theory regards the narrative in Genesis as teaching revealed doctrines, which originated in a vision vouchsafed either to Moses or to Adam, and now recorded in the Biblical account of Creation. By means of the vision of seven distinct pictures which correspond more or less exactly to the reality, the supernatural dogma of divine Creation was revealed to man, together with the divine precept that man must work only on six days of the week, after His Divine pattern.

The *ideal* theory—under whatever form it is proposed—has the great advantage of drawing a clear line between the respective provinces of revelation and human science, and of precluding all conflict between them. Its denial of the historical character of the first account of Creation is not contrary to tradition, since the school of Alexandria, St. Augustine, and many Catholic theologians of the past centuries have admitted the ideal theory of interpretation. Nevertheless, "nothing in the Sacred Text indicates that the narrative of Creation is of a different character from the history of the first man which immediately follows. A sudden passage from allegory to history, from poetry to prose, from vision to reality, is against all likelihood."²

The tendency, in the present day, among Catholic scholars,³ is to adopt a theory intermediate between *Concordism*

¹ Cfr. Comm. in Genesim (Paris, 1895).

² PELT, Histoire de l'Ancien Testament, vol. i, p. 27.

³ This is the case, for instance, with VIGOUROUX, CASTELEIN, S.J., GUTTLER, ZAHM, GUIBERT, DE FOVILLE, etc.

and *Idealism*. They admit, on the one hand, that the Biblical account agrees in many striking points with the real development of the universe, and, on the other hand, that it deviates from it in many others, because its chief purpose was to convey religious truth under the popular picture of six working days followed by a day of rest. It must be borne in mind, however, that "whatever scientific value it possesses it shares in some measure with the congenital Assyrian tradition, and indeed, though in a less degree, with any analogous cosmogonies which agree with the Genesis account so far as to assert that the world was made by the exercise of a Supreme Power, that the process of Creation followed an ordered sequence, and that the creation of man marked the highest point in the scale of created being."¹

§ 3. *The Second Account of Creation (Gen. ii, 4^b-25).*

I. Differences from Account in Gen. i-ii, 4^a. It has often been stated by the defenders of the traditional view concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch, that the second chapter of Genesis (verses 4^b-25) does not contain a new narrative of Creation, but simply sets forth in greater detail what concerns the creation of the first man, with a view to prepare the reader for the narrative of the Fall. This position does not seem, however, to be absolutely correct. What the author purposes describing is apparently a new commencement of all things, for he goes back to the time when there was "*yet*" "no plant of the field," "no man to till the ground," and no "beast of the field and fowl of the air," and narrates how they were made "out of the ground" by Yahweh. Not only does this second chapter treat of Creation, but it does so with divergences which be-

¹ H. E. RYLE, *Early Narratives of Creation*, p. 27.

speak a different source of information. It knows nothing of the Days of Creation; states that when man was made neither plant nor herb yet existed (ii, 5-7); that the vegetable and animal world owed its origin to the purpose of satisfying the needs of man (ii, 8, 9, 19),¹ and that the formation of woman as a helpmeet of man was an act of Divine favor in recognition of his inability to find true companionship in the brute creation (ii, 21-23). Together with these differences in the order of creation, there are minor divergences in the details mentioned, which point likewise to a different original author: this is the case, for instance, with the dried condition of the earth in ii, 5; with the earliest form of man's food (ii, 16); the assertion that "it is *not good* that the man should be alone" (ii, 18); etc. Again, while the style of the second chapter resembles closely that of chapter iii, which belongs to the same document, it contrasts singularly with that of chapter i: thus the set formulas ("and God said," "and God called," "and it was so," etc.) so often recurring in the first account, and articulating only the great outstanding facts of Creation, give way to an easy and well-connected description of accessory circumstances (cfr. especially ii, 5 sqq., 21 sqq.). The diction is likewise different in the two accounts: the former speaks of God "*creating*," of "the beasts of the *earth*," of the herbs and animals being produced "after their *kind*," etc.; the latter says that God "*forms*" or "*makes* out of the ground"; speaks of "the beasts of the *field*," etc. Another very striking difference is found in the fact that the anthropomorphism of chap. ii (which is clearly continued in chap. iii) is conspicuously absent from chap. i: in the first account of Creation, God creates by speaking, and His word of command is instantly

¹ Defenders of the unity of authorship in both chapters render ii, 10, by: Yahweh "*had* formed out of the ground every beast of the field . . . brought them to Adam," as if this verse did not record the actual formation of animals after man's creation; but this rendering is incorrect; cfr. DILLMANN, Genesis, vol. i, p. 141 (Engl. Transl.).

obeyed ; in the second, "He *fashions* men and animals, *breathes* life into man's nostrils (ii, 7, 19), *takes* a rib from his body, and *closes up* the opening (ii, 21), *builds up* the rib into a woman (ii, 22), *plants* the garden (ii, 8), *takes* man and *sets him down* in it (ii, 15), *brings* the animals to man to *see* what he would call them (ii, 19, 22)."¹ Finally, while the divine name *Elohim* is exclusively used in chap. i, the other divine name *Yahweh* appears in chap. ii, a difference which cannot be reasonably accounted for by saying that in the former case God is spoken of in His general relation to mankind at large ; and in the latter, in His special relation with the people of His choice.

It would be easy to enlarge upon these and other such differences between the two accounts of Creation contained in the opening chapters of Genesis ;² but those pointed out are sufficient to make us realize how even Catholic scholars are gradually admitting the fact that these two accounts must be ascribed to two different sources of information, which have been utilized in the compilation of the first historical book of the Old Testament. It must be said, however, that no close parallel to our second account of Creation has yet been discovered among the Babylonian literary remains.

2. Creation of Adam and Eve. Despite the numerous and striking differences which may be pointed out between the two accounts of Creation, they exhibit significant points of resemblance which have been well set forth by W. H. Bennett³ in the following words: "In both narratives man is sharply marked off as a created being from God the Creator; and is not connected with Him by a chain of

¹ KNOBEL, quoted in Dillmann's Genesis, vol. i, p. 96 (Engl. Transl.).

² For many other particulars, see Friedrich VON HÜGEL, art. Documents of the Hexateuch, in the Catholic University Bulletin, April 1898, pp. 206-212 ; BRIGGS, Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch, pp. 75-77 ; etc.

³ Art. ADAM, in HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible, vol. i, p. 36.

inferior gods, demi-gods and heroes, as in the Egyptian, Assyrian and Chaldean dynasties, and in other mythologies. Yet man has a certain community of nature with God; He is made in His image (P), and receives his life from the breath of Jehovah (J). Similarly, man's connection with the animals is implied by his creation on the same day, his separate status by a distinct act of creation. He is lord of all things, animate and inanimate, the crown of creation (P). So, in J, the animals are made for his benefit, and the garden, with certain limitations, is at his disposal. Woman is also secondary and subordinate to man, and the cause of his ruin, but of identical nature. The formation of a single woman for the man implies monogamy." Thus, then, while the second account of Creation differs much from the first in respect of style, representation, etc., it agrees wonderfully with it in respect of doctrines inculcated.

Of these various doctrines, that which concerns man's creation is couched in such anthropomorphic terms that St. Augustine, commenting on them, felt it necessary to caution his readers against childish or inaccurate inferences.¹ A little farther on,² he expounds that the formation of man's body "out of the slime of the earth" may mean either its immediate production in full man's estate, or, on the contrary, its slow evolution from matter pre-existing and endowed with sufficient energy to gradually produce it. The peculiar view embodied in this second supposition remained unnoticed for centuries among Catholic writers, who simply affirmed the fact that the body of Adam had been immediately formed by God, without inquiring farther into the mode of its formation. In fact, the Fathers and theologians, intent in setting forth the obvious meaning of Genesis, have so unanimously taught the immediate formation of the first

¹ De Genesi ad Litteram, lib. vi, cap. xii, § 20.

² Ibid., cap. xiii, § 23 sqq. Cfr. St. Thomas, in II lib. Sentent., Dist. xii, quæst. i, art. 2.

man's body that, in the present day, prominent theologians¹ rate this doctrine, if not as *de fide*, at least as *fidei proxima*. Of late, however, several Catholic writers,² anxious to harmonize the Bible with recent scientific theories on this point, maintain as within the limits of orthodoxy the view that man's body may have been produced by the very same kind of action which produced the bodies of other animals, provided, however, the immediate creation of the human soul be distinctly maintained. This "milder form of Trans-formism,"³ which is set forth only as a probable hypothesis by its advocates, cannot indeed be regarded as absolutely contrary to the Biblical expression: "God formed man's body from the dust of the ground"; but there is hardly any doubt that it is much less in harmony with their obvious meaning than the traditional interpretation, all the more so because Semitic traditions outside the Bible represent also man's creation as the immediate work of a Supreme Power.

Be this as it may, it is beyond question that the religious doctrine regarding the creation of the first man has been well preserved in those Semitic traditions. They agree with the Hebrew account in distinctly representing man as the creature and dependent of God, while they imply that he was made after God's image, and is far superior to the brute creation. They differ from it only in their way of setting forth the method of divine procedure, adding mythological details to the primitive truth embodied in our Biblical account that God made man's body of the earth and bestowed the gift of life.⁴

¹ Among whom may be mentioned FATHER BRUCKER, S.J., *Questions actuelles d'Ecriture Sainte*, p. 221 sq.

² ST. GEORGE MIVART, *Genesis of Species*, p. 283; and *The Nineteenth Century*, Feb. 1893, p. 327; LEROY, O.P., *l'Evolution restreinte aux espèces organiques* (Paris, 1893); DR. MAISONNEUVE, *Création et Evolution* (*Congrès Scientif. Internat.* 1891); etc.

³ A short exposition of the grounds in its favor is found in J. GUIBERT, S.S., *Les Origines*, p. 100 sqq. (Engl. Transl. under the title "In the beginning," p. 145 sqq.).

⁴ For an able discussion of this point see Jno. D. DAVIS, *Genesis and Semitic tradition*, pp. 36-47.

As regards the creation of Eve, it must be owned that, despite Prof. Sayce's bold assertion that one of the Assyro-Babylonian magical texts "indicates that a similar view as to the creation of the woman prevailed in Babylonia to that which we read in the book of Genesis," no account parallel to the Hebrew narrative has yet been found. The passage to which he so confidently appeals, when viewed in the context from which he severed it,¹ has clearly no reference to the creation of Eve, so that we must still wait for a parallel record. Perhaps this silence of Semitic tradition outside the Bible points to the non-strictly historical character of the account of Eve's creation, a view which, after having been admitted by Origen and Cajetan, has lately been adopted by Von Hummelauer, S.J.,² and Gottfried Hoberg.³ According to these and other scholars, we have here the record of a vision granted to Adam and symbolical of the future. The vision is analogous in its literary form to that granted to Abraham, of which we read in Gen. xv, 12 sqq.: "And when the sun was setting, a deep sleep fell upon Abram, . . . and Yahweh said to him: 'Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land not their own'"; and in its psychology to that of St. Peter at Joppe,⁴ whose natural desire for food was a providential preparation of his mind for the special form assumed by the vision. "In like manner," we are told,⁵ "the thoughts of Adam were turned powerfully to the absolute lack of companionship for him among birds and beasts; his attention was directed to the twofold character of the animals which made their lairs and built their nests together and wrought in

¹ DAVIS, loc. cit., p. 48 sq.

² Comm. in Genesim, p. 149 sq. (Paris, 1895).

³ Die Genesis, p. 36 (Freiburg, 1899). Hoberg refers to SCHANZ, in Theol. Quartalschrift, for 1895, p. 700 sq. See also LAGRANGE, O.P., Innocence et Pêché, in Revue Biblique (1897), pp. 365, 368.

⁴ Acts x, 10 sqq.

⁵ Jno. D. DAVIS, loc. cit., p. 52 sq.

mutual helpfulness, and his mind was made to dwell on his solitude. Then 'deep sleep' fell upon him,¹ and he saw one of his ribs taken out by Yahweh Elohim, the place closed up with flesh, and a woman formed. He awoke. Immediately, or after a time, the woman whom he had seen in his sleep is brought unto him, and, recognizing her, he exclaims: 'This now is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man.'"² This view of the account of Eve's creation, which allows for it the same historical basis as for that of Abraham's and Peter's visions, has never been censured by Church authorities, although most Catholic theologians and interpreters prefer to abide by the direct and literal meaning of Genesis.³

§ 4. *The Narrative of the Fall (Gen. iii).*

1. The Biblical Account and its Principal Teachings. Immediately upon the second Account of Creation, and indeed as a literary continuation of it,⁴ comes the familiar narrative of the Fall. The "Prophetical" narrator represents our first parents as living in innocence and peace in the delightful garden of Eden, where sin had not entered, and where death had no power, for in its midst stood the tree of life of which they might freely eat. Only of one tree, that "of the knowledge of good and evil," was the fruit forbidden them, under the penalty of death. But their

¹ The Hebrew word for "deep sleep" is rendered in the LXX by ἔκστασις, the very Greek word used of Peter's vision in Acts x, 10; xi, 5. Benedict XIV. speaks of Adam's sleep as a "divine ecstasy" (De Canoniz., Book iii, chap. xlix, § 4). See also ADAM, in VIGOUROUX, Dict. de la Bible, col. 174.

² Gen. ii, 23.

³ François LENORMANT follows the Talmudic tradition and several Catholic theologians when he understands the text most literally of "Androgyns," separated afterwards into man and woman (The Beginnings of History, p. 64 sqq.)

⁴ For grounds in favor of this position, see DILLMANN, Genesis, vol i, p 94 sqq. (Engl. Transl.).

life of happy fellowship with God was not to remain untried. The serpent tempted Eve, and she Adam; and they both disobeyed the divine command. Conscious of sin and fearful of God's wrath, they hide, and, next, excuse themselves. The sentence is pronounced in turn against the tempter the woman, and the man; and, finally, Adam and Eve are driven from paradise, the gates of which Cherubim guard against them, lest, eating of the tree of life, they should live forever.

Such, in substance, is the Biblical account of man's fall. However short and simple the narrative may appear, it embodies many and most important religious truths. It tells of man's double nature—his earthly frame and the spirit given him by the Creator; of his happy enjoyment of the Divine presence in the exercise of his physical, intellectual and moral faculties; of his free will, which may choose between obedience to God's holy will, on the one hand, and yielding to the seductive power of evil, on the other. It teaches that the supreme blessing of the Divine presence was conditional upon obedience to the divine will; and shows by the very simplicity of the offence, which stands in such startling contrast with the tremendous character of its consequences, how the purpose, even more than the act, is judged in God's sight. Adam's fall, in particular, is singularly illustrative of the indirect manner in which the tempter assaults and overcomes the strong. Through this transgression of the divine command, the human race fell in the person of its head and first representative from the high estate to which it had been raised by God's goodness and power, and lost thereby all the privileges it would have possessed forever, had Adam persevered in his condition of original righteousness. Henceforth sufferings of every description, to be terminated by death, shall accompany human nature wherever found. Henceforth, too, the

prone to evil transmitted together with it will make man's road to truth and moral goodness like a long and bitter conflict against the power of evil; yet there is a prospect, as the narrator with prophetic intuition foresees, of victory in the end.¹

2. Its Historical Character. The various teachings contained in the Biblical account of the Fall are so obvious that they have been readily and almost universally admitted by interpreters of Holy Writ. But this is not the case with the precise character of the account itself. Of the various theories put forth in this connection, we may mention the following: (1) The Biblical account is a strictly historical narrative, the statements of which must be considered as literally true. In favor of this theory it is argued that the literal sense of a Scriptural passage must be received unless solid grounds appear to the contrary; that if the writer had intended it as a figurative representation of the introduction of sin into the world, he would have added some intimation to that effect; that as the book of Genesis contains a work evidently historical, the whole must be supposed to be a narration of facts, or of what the author believes to be facts, till it is shown that a part is fabulous or mythological; that if Genesis be an inspired book, its historical truth may be considered the necessary consequence; that it is incredible that the author would abruptly break the thread of literal history after writing the words of Gen. i, 27, involving both that fact and the events which followed in succession in mythological obscurity, and that no sufficient motive can be conceived for a dark, mysterious, parabolical record of the fall. Many passages, too, in the Old Testament books are supposed to contain allusions to the Fall, to Paradise, the serpent, and hereditary depravity. Besides,

¹ Gen iii, 15.

if the obedience of the second Adam was a fact, so was the disobedience of the first Adam, according to the reasoning of Rom. v, 12-19. In like manner, the reasoning of I Cor. xi, 8, 9, would be fallacious, if the Biblical account of Eve's formation were not a literal fact; and the statement in II Cor. xi, 3, that Eve was seduced, and by means of a serpent, confirms the record in Genesis.¹

It will be noticed that most of the grounds set forth to uphold this first strictly literal view of the Biblical narrative of the Fall are *a priori* arguments, independent, to a large extent, of the actual character of the account, and for this very reason of comparatively little value, in the eyes of many, to determine its precise nature. It should also be borne in mind that this most strict historical understanding of the narrative is not absolutely demanded by the expressions of St. Paul in his epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians, since many thorough believers (both Catholics and Protestants) in the doctrines therein asserted by the Apostle of the Gentiles, have clearly seen their way to reconcile other methods of understanding the account of the Fall with St. Paul's statements. Nor is it less certain that parables, allegories, and other such literary compositions² may well be inspired without anything more than a historical or even a merely imaginary basis. Finally, such literal interpretation of the third chapter of Genesis can hardly be considered as consistent with the obviously non-historical details³ of "God walking in paradise in the cool of the day"; of a literal "serpent" holding converse with Eve,

¹ HOLDEN's Dissertation on the Fall of Man, summarized by S. DAVIDSON, *Introd. to the O. Test.*, vol. ii, p. 164 sq. (London, 1862). Cfr. Card. MEIGNAN, *de l'Eden à Moïse*, pp. 93-96; VIGOUROUX, *Livres Saints et Critique Rationaliste*, vol. iv, p. 142 sqq. (Paris, 1891).

² Such, for example, are the parables of the Old and New Testaments; the Canticle of Canticles understood allegorically; the apologue of the trees choosing their king in Judges ix, 8 sqq.; etc.

³ Cfr. LAGRANGE, O.P., *Innocence et Pêché*, in *Revue Biblique*, 1897, pp. 362 sqq.

and condemned henceforth to go upon its belly; of the tree of life endowed by God with a virtue of securing immortality; etc., etc.

(2) It is precisely because of such non-strictly historical details that certain writers, since Philo and Origen, have been led to look upon the narrative of the Fall as containing simply an allegorical, or even a mythical, account of the introduction of sin into the world. Under its various forms,¹ this second theory denies the historical character of the narrative, and represents its author as *deliberately* using fictitious details and images to describe either moral phenomena, such as the usual triumph of pleasure over reason (Philo), and the manner in which man passes from childish ignorance to knowledge of his moral consciousness and freedom (Reuss), or the philosophical solution among the Hebrews of the existence of evil in the world (Dillmann); etc. At the basis of this conception of the Hebrew account of the Fall there is a groundless assumption. It is assumed that the narrator is conscious of not recording facts, truly events of the past; that his purpose, in fact, is distinctly unhistorical. It is plain, however, that this assumption goes not only against the tone of the Hebrew account, which is that of a narrative, but also against the writer's real belief that Adam and Eve are the primitive ancestors of mankind, who, by their personal transgression of a positive divine command, brought about a historical change in man's relation to his Creator. This history of the first sin is an integral part of the work of the "Prophetical" narrator whose object it was in the first chapters of his book to give a historical sketch of the growth of sin among men.² In point of fact, most rationalistic scholars agree with

¹ Cfr. LAGRANGE, loc. cit., p. 358 sq., p. 368; Card MEIGNAN, de l'Eden à Moïse, p. 98 sq.

² A. DILLMANN, Genesis, vol. i, p. 180 (Engl. Transl.); DRIVER, Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test., 6th edit., p. 120.

Catholic writers and ancient Protestant conservatives in admitting that the author of the Biblical account sets forth what he considers reliable information about events connected with the very first ancestors of mankind, and fraught with the direst consequences for their posterity.¹ ✓

(3) When the two extreme theories thus far exposed have been set aside, there remains a middle way which has long met, as it still meets, with the approval of most unprejudiced scholars. According to this third theory, the account of the Fall is indeed history, yet history of a peculiar kind. It records facts, but clothes them in a symbolical dress. It embodies the olden traditions of our race, according to which our first parents yielded to the perverse suggestions of an outward Tempter, disobeyed positively the Divine will, and transmitted to their descendants the like tendency to such disobedience. But it embodies them in such simple forms as could be realized by the imagination of primitive peoples, and as can be apprehended even now by young children and by the ignorant of all races. According to this view, "the tree of knowledge" was a suitable symbol of the spiritual good, to the unlawful desire of which man succumbed, but the Fall did not depend on the specific virtue of its fruit; "the serpent" is the apt symbol of the insinuating and seductive power of the outward Tempter, and his converse with Eve a manner of picturing the reality of the temptation, not unlike the figurative "walking of Yahweh in the cool of the day" when He is about to mete out the punishment to the culprits; etc.² Thus the two elements of the narrative—the historical character of the facts which is proclaimed by the first theory set forth above, and the symbolical representation

¹ The *allegorical* interpretation of the narrative of the Fall has never been censured by Church authorities.

² For details in this regard, cfr. LAGRANGE, *Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 363 sqq.

of these same facts which is emphasized by the second—are recognized and blended in this third theory. Thus also does it appear only natural that the “prophetical narrator” should use figurative and symbolical details and expressions to bring down to the level of his readers the wonderful facts of the past and their permanent teachings. Thus also, finally, would we account for the fact that, in spite of the hasty assertions of some Assyriologists to the contrary, no parallel account of the Fall has been discovered on Babylonian written tablets or engraved cylinders.¹

3. The Proto-Evangelium, or First Messianic Prophecy. As stated above, while the “prophetical narrator” of the Fall describes man’s future condition as a long and bitter conflict between the human race and the power of evil, he also foresees its end in victory:

And Yahweh Elohim said to the serpent:

· · · · · · ·
· · · · · · ·

I will put enmity between thee and the woman,

And between thy seed and her seed;

He shall crush (or, lie in wait for) thy head,

And thou shalt crush (or, lie in wait for) his heel. (Gen. iii, 15.)

This rendering of words, the Messianic import of which has caused them to be called the *Proto-Evangelium*, is somewhat different from our Vulgate translation, which renders the last two lines of Gen. iii, 15, as follows:

Ipsa conteret caput tuum,

Et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus.

The main difference is connected with the gender of the pronoun “*ipsa*” (she), which our official Version of Holy Writ refers to the woman, whereas in the Hebrew text it refers to the word “seed,” a masculine noun in the original

¹ See Jno. D. DAVIS, “Genesis and Semitic Tradition,” for proofs of this position.

tongue. Thence arises a corresponding difference in the meaning; for while in the Vulgate it would appear that it is the "woman" who will bruise the head of the serpent, and that it is for "her" heel that the serpent will lie in wait; in the Hebrew text, on the contrary, it is the "seed" of the woman who is destined to crush the head of the serpent, and it is the heel of *this same seed* that the serpent will watch. That the rendering in the Vulgate, as it now stands, is defective is "granted by critics"¹ on the following grounds: (1) the grammatical particulars in the last two lines of Gen. iii, 15,—the verb "shall crush" without the proper prefix required by a feminine subject, which must be taken as a masculine form; the pronoun connected with the word "heel," which is also a masculine form; etc.,—prove beyond reasonable doubt that the pronoun before the verb "shall crush" should be rendered by a masculine, not by a feminine, form;² (2) all the ancient versions, the Old Latin official translation included, refer the pronoun before "shall crush," not to the *woman*, but to her *seed*;³ (3) St. Jerome himself⁴ correctly wrote "*ipse*," and it was only later that "*ipsa*" crept into almost all the manuscripts of the Vulgate. It must therefore be admitted that, in the passage under consideration, the crushing of the serpent's head is directly foretold of the *seed* of the woman, and only indirectly of the *woman* herself who will do it through her seed.⁵ In fact, the more direct is the reference to the woman's *seed*, the more pregnant the predictive words of the passage become. It is true that even then they should not be taken as an explicit

¹ VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 292, footn. 2; Card. MEIGNAN, de l'Eden à Moïse, p. 178.

² After mentioning these grammatical details, Corluy, S. J., adds: "unde et hoc pronomen masculinum sit oportet, nisi dicatur auctor omnia de industria coacervasse ut lectorem deciperet" (Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum, vol. i, p. 350).

³ Cfr. VIGOUROUX, loc. cit.; CORLUY, ibid., p. 350, footn. 2.

⁴ Cfr. Quæst. Hebraicæ in Genesim (Migne, Patr. L., vol. xxiii, col. 943).

⁵ Cfr. VIGOUROUX, loc. cit.; MEIGNAN, ibid., p. 179.

prophecy of man's Redeemer, of the One "made of a woman,"¹ and sent into the world "to destroy the works of the devil."² Their direct meaning would still refer to a bitter and permanent conflict between the Evil One and his seed (the wicked) and the woman and the whole human race, a conflict during which the wounds inflicted by man's arch-enemy will be curable, while the seed of the woman will one day fully conquer Satan and his associates.³ There is no denying, however, that the immediate reference to the woman's seed, who is represented in actual and *personal* conflict with the power of evil, admits readily of an application restricted to that One single member of the human race who was destined, as we know from the event, to crush the serpent's head, and "triumph over all the principalities and powers."⁴ The *Proto-Evangelium* is then the original germ of all subsequent Messianic prophecy, obscure and indefinite in itself, as every germ whose development is still to be waited for, but already foreboding victory over man's cunning and inveterate enemy.

§ 5. *The Narrative of the Flood (vi, 9-ix, 17).*

I. The Structure of the Biblical Narrative. "It is a fact now generally known, and almost universally recognized by scholars,⁵ that the account of the Flood preserved in Genesis results from the combination of two slightly different narratives of the same event. The greater portion of the account has come down to us in the form in which

¹ Galat. iv, 4.

² I John iii, 8.

³ Cfr. CORLUV, S.J., *ibid.*, pp. 359-372; LAGRANGE, O.P., *Revue Biblique*, 1897, pp. 355-356; CRELIER, *La Genèse* (Bible de Lethielleux), p. 56 sq.; MEIGNAN, *ibid.*, p. 180; etc., etc.

⁴ Coloss. ii, 15.

⁵ These remarks concerning the literary structure of the Flood are borrowed from H. E. RYLE, *The Early Narratives of Genesis*, chap. vii. They are fully endorsed by Father Robert CLARKE, LOISY, ROBERT, etc.

it was preserved in the Priestly narrative (P). But large extracts from the Prophetic narrative, by the hand of the Jehovist (J), have also been retained, and their presence can be unmistakably recognized.

"The two sources are interwoven; but the distinctive features, both of their style and of their characteristic treatment, have enabled scholars to assign, with some confidence, the greater portion of the section, in its present literary state, to the one or the other document.

"To the Priestly narrative are generally assigned vi, 9-22; vii, 6, 11, 13-16^a, 18-21, 24; viii, 1, 2^a, 3^b-5, 13^a, 14-19; ix, 1-17. Characteristic of its style is the use of the Divine name 'Elohim,' and of the Hebrew phrases for 'after their kind' (vi, 20, cfr. i, 25); 'male and female' (vi, 19, cfr. i, 27); 'these are the generations' (vi, 9, cfr. x, 1); 'in the self-same day' (vii, 13, cfr. xvii, 23, 26); 'establish . . . covenant' (vi, 18, cfr. ix, 9, 11, 17); 'increase and multiply' (viii, 17, cfr. ix, 1, 7, etc.). It is in this narrative that we find the precise mention of Noe's age (vii, 5, 11), the exact dimensions of the ark (vi, 15, 16), the depth of the Flood (vii, 20), and the covenant with Noe (ix).

"To the Prophetic narrative is assigned the greater part of vii, 1-5, 7-9, 10, 12, 16^b, 17, 22, 23; viii, 2^b, 3^a, 6-12, 13^b, 20-22. Characteristic of its style is the use of the Divine name 'Yahweh,' the use of the phrase 'the male and his female' in vii, 2 (literally, 'the man and his wife'), quite different from that used in vi, 19; the term 'house' applied to the family of Noe in vii, 1; the incident of the raven and the dove, and the most marked anthropomorphisms which occur throughout the history.

"How completely separate the two accounts are will appear to the simplest reader in chap. vii, where we have two successive mentions of Noe entering the ark with his family and the animals, viz., 7-9 and 13-16. The two

documents containing the narrative undoubtedly were in general agreement. But they differed in certain points of detail, which the compiler, faithfully extracting from his authorities, made no attempt at reconciling completely. . . .

"These points of unimportant divergence fall into three principal groups: (1) the number of the animals preserved,¹ (2) the character and origin of the Flood,² (3) its duration.³ . . .

"The difference between the two narratives betokens a distinct literary origin; and, as has been mentioned above, evidence to the same effect is forthcoming from the language in the corresponding portions."

2. The Flood and the Assyro-Babylonian Account thereof.⁴ It will be noticed that while the two divergent documents which are supposed to form the basis of our Biblical account of the Flood enable us to account for the discrepancies found therein, they also supply us with two sources of information the relative independence of which would tend to confirm rather than to disprove the historical character of that wonderful event. This natural inference, however, has lost much of its value in the eyes of some scholars who have compared the Biblical narrative with the Assyro-Babylonian legend of the Flood, and pointed out that the latter, which is admittedly independent of the former, has nevertheless features which are claimed to be peculiar to J and P respectively. This has led them to reject the composite structure of the Biblical narrative as

¹ Cfr. vii, 2, and vi, 19.

² Comp. vii, 12; viii, 2^b, with vii, 11; viii, 2^a.

³ According to J, the whole period occupied by the warning before the Flood, its prevalence and its subsidence, comprised but 68 days (cfr. vii, 10, 12; viii, 6-8, 10-12); according to P, the duration of the whole Flood catastrophe exceeded a year (cfr. vii, 11, 13; viii, 13, 14).

⁴ For the fragment of a Babylonian Account of the Flood, discovered by Father SCHEIL, O.P., and referred to about 2140 B.C., see *Revue Biblique*, 1898, p. 5 sqq.

it is maintained by critics,¹ and to regard both the Hebrew account—considered as a literary unit—and the Babylonian legend of the Flood, which agree together in a very large number of particulars,² as derived from a common ancient source, and wearing a mythological or monotheistic dress according as the peoples among whom they gradually assumed their present form were given to idolatry or to the worship of the true God. Over against their view there is the more probable theory that “the early Hebrews derived the history of the Flood from Babylonia, which, from the days of the Patriarchs, was highly advanced in civilization. . . . The Babylonian language and script had already before the Exodus become naturalized in Palestine and been made, as the Tel el-Amarna tablets show, the official means

¹ See very particularly Jno. D. DAVIS, *Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, chap. xii; VIGOUROUX, *Bible et Découvertes Modernes*, vol. i, Bk. i, chap. vi.

² The Babylonian legend is briefly as follows: Several gods (Anu, Bel, Adar, En-nugi) brought about the flood; but one of them (Ea) instructed Hasisadra to build a ship, and gave directions as to its size. Hasisadra built it like a dwelling-house, and covered it with bitumen within and without. He put in it all his treasures, and caused his slaves and concubines, his cattle and beasts of the field, to enter. The order came to enter into the ship and close the door. So did Hasisadra, and he intrusted the care of the structure, with its cargo, to the pilot, Puzur-Bel. The Flood set in: “the spirits of the subterraneous regions carried the flood; in their terribleness, they sweep through the land; the storm-god raised billows which reached to heaven,” etc. “The gods also were terrified and sought a refuge . . . Ishtar cried like a mother.” For 6 days the wind, flood and storm continued; on the 7th they abated. Destruction was to be seen everywhere: “all men were become mud. I opened a window; and, as the light fell upon my face, I stopped and sat down, weeping.” The ship grounded on Mt. Nitzir. On the 7th day afterwards, Hasisadra “released a dove, and it flew hither and thither; there was no resting-place, so it returned.” Next he sent forth a swallow; but after going hither and thither, it too returned. Then he sent forth a raven; the raven flew away, saw the carrion on the water, ate, alighted carefully, but did not return. Then Hasisadra describes how he let forth the animals to the four winds; built an altar and offered sacrifice, the savor of which was smelled by the gods, who “gathered like flies about the offerer.” Whereupon the goddess Ishtar lighted up the rainbow which the god of the sky had made at her request. The god Bel, who had “inconsiderately caused the deluge,” was wroth at Hasisadra’s escape, but was appeased by Ea, who said among other things: “On the sinner lay his sin; on the evil-doer his evil deeds. . . . Instead of causing a flood-storm, send the lion, famine and pestilence, and let them diminish men.” Bel bearkened, grasped the hand of Hasisadra and his wife, and joined himself to them in a covenant, and blessed them; and raising them to be as gods, caused them to dwell afar off at the mouth of the rivers. (Cfr. DAVIS, VIGOUROUX, SAYCE, SCHRADER, etc.)

of communication between the Babylonian court and the various Chanaanite tribes. Thus there was more than one channel by which a familiar story of Babylonia might become part of Jewish tradition. At the same time, the variations in the account suggest that it is likely to have passed through many mouths before it reached its Bible form. Even the differences in its religious character are more probably due to gradual changes of thought and feeling than to a single literary process. It is, however, quite possible that if several variations of the story were, as is probable, current, some few particulars in the Bible narrative may actually be more original than in the Accadian version. The sending out of the birds in the latter is rather pointless, as the non-return of the raven, which fed upon the corpses, proved nothing. Both the J and P accounts are derived from the Babylonian, each document selecting for the most part, and sometimes enlarging upon, those details which best accorded with its own character and aim"¹

But whichever view be taken of the relation between the Hebrew account and the Babylonian legend of the Flood, three things must be looked upon as beyond reasonable doubt. First, the former is immensely superior to the latter, not only by its freedom from the mythological element, but also by its distinct moral purpose, by its simple dignity, and by the purity of its religious tone: from beginning to end, the God of revelation appears as the supreme master of all things and the righteous avenger of evil deeds. Secondly, the author or compiler of the Hebrew account sincerely believed that the Flood actually occurred, and such was also most likely the frame of mind of the one who wrote the Babylonian tablet which has come down to us. Lastly, the variations

¹ F. H. WOODS, art. Flood, in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, p. 17 sq.; see also LENORMANT, *The Beginnings of History*, chap. viii; etc.

between the Babylonian and Biblical narratives tend rather to prove this actual occurrence, for, as is well said by Ryle:¹ "to deny that the Deluge ever occurred, because the traditions which describe it² have come down to us with certain variations, is an attitude . . . which it is very hard to appreciate; the very variety of the tradition seems to increase the probability of its historic character in the main points upon which there is agreement."

3. The Universality of the Flood. Taking, then, for granted that the Flood is a historical fact, the question now naturally comes up: what should be thought of its universality? To this question three several answers have been given, which must be briefly stated and examined.

According to a first opinion,—which indeed may be called the old traditional view,³—the Flood was *absolutely universal*, and therefore extended to all places, to all animals and all men, exclusive of those contained in the Ark. This opinion has for its chief ground the literal, and apparently sole straightforward, understanding of the Biblical narrative, wherein the two sources recognized by critics concur in affirming this absolute universality. God's purpose in sending the Flood is "to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life under heaven: everything that is in the earth shall die" (Gen. vi, 17; vii, 4). The aim of the Ark is to save those contained in it from perishing (vi, 19, 20; vii, 15). The actual destruction of all men and all living things, with the exception only of "Noe and they that were with him," is distinctly stated (vii, 21-23; ix, 11, 15), together with God's solemn promise "no more to destroy every living soul

¹ Early Narratives of Genesis. p. 113 sq. See also DELITZSCH, DILLMANN, etc.

² For the other traditions beside the Hebrew and Babylonian accounts referred to by Ryle, see LENORMANT, loc. cit.; F. H. WOODS, *ibid.*; DE GIRARD, *le Déluge devant la Critique Historique*.

³ St. EPHREM and St. CHRYSOSTOM thought, however, that the Flood did not interfere with the terrestrial paradise described in Gen. ii.

as He has done" (viii, 21). This total destruction of men and animals—save, of course, those in the Ark—was the natural outcome of "the waters prevailing exceedingly upon the earth, so that the high mountains under the whole heaven were covered" (vii, 19, cfr. viii, 9). Thus, the whole tenor of the account of Genesis points to an absolute universality; and in fact it was always understood in this manner, by Jews and Christians,¹ till the scientific knowledge of the nineteenth century led interpreters generally to give up the natural and traditional meaning of the Biblical record. "Nowadays," says Prof. Schanz, "there can be no manner of doubt that the Flood did not overspread the whole earth. This old view now numbers adherents only among those who wilfully shut their eyes to all collateral knowledge, and blindly put their trust in the literal sense (Keil, Lamy). An inundation of the whole earth to the tops of the highest mountains would require a volume of water so immense as to defy calculation. . . . It would require some 20 figures to express the number of cubic metres, and this mass would have collected as quickly as it dispersed."² Plainly, this quantity of water could not be supplied naturally by the atmosphere and by the oceans, and the Biblical narrative mentions only these natural causes to account for its production. The difficulties are still greater from the standpoint of zoology. There is, for instance, the difficulty of collecting specimens of several thousands of animal species; that of finding room for them in the Ark and for passages to get at them; that of storing the food, especially that needed for the larger animals and for animals of different sorts, during the Flood and for some time afterwards; that of keeping all those animals alive under one and the same

¹ Cfr. JOSEPHUS, *Antiq. of the Jews*, Book i, chap. iii; I Peter iii, 20.

² *A Christian Apology*, vol. i, p. 430 sq. (Engl. Transl.). Cfr. ZAHM, *C. S. C., Bible, Science and Faith*, p. 134.

temperature ; that of attending to the wants of them all by means of only eight persons; etc., etc. To overcome these and other such difficulties, a series of miracles of the most astounding kind would have to be imagined, and one concerning which there is not so much as a hint in the Biblical record, not so much as a trace in geological history.¹

Unwilling to admit this unproven series of divine wonders, and anxious to harmonize the ascertained data of Science with those of the Bible, the bulk of Christian apologists have given up the universality of the Flood as regards places and animals, but maintain it as regards the human race. According to this second theory, the Deluge extended only to the inhabited part of the globe, so that all mankind perished except Noe and his family. The advocates of this opinion² endeavor to show that it is consistent (1) with the meaning of the Biblical record by pointing to other passages of Holy Writ, where "the whole earth" really means a limited portion thereof,³ and the expression "under the whole heaven" has a similar restricted sense;⁴ (2) with the character of the Biblical account of the Flood, inasmuch as it embodies not a revelation, but a tradition which originated in the witnesses of that catastrophe, and who themselves understood the terms "*all the earth*," "*the whole heaven*," in a restricted sense, the only one they could have before their mind ; (3) with the voice of tradition, for, as they justly say, most recent Catholic theologians and interpreters do not regard its testimony as meeting all the

¹ All the geological phenomena formerly appealed to as proving a universal Flood, when examined closely in the light of greater knowledge, have proved insufficient to substantiate this position. Cfr. DE LAPPARENT, *Traité de Géologie*; REUSS, *Nature and the Bible*, vol. i, chap. xx; Archibald GEIKIE; Jas. D. DANA; Jos. LE CONTE; Arthur NICHOLS; and other writers on Geology.

² Among whom may be mentioned PIANCIANI, REUSCH, HETTINGER, BELLYNCK, VIGOUROUX, RAULT, CRELIER, BRUCKER, HUMMELAUER, PELT, etc., etc.

³ Gen. xli, 54, 56, 57; etc.

⁴ Deuter. ii, 25; etc.

conditions required to settle the manner in which this part of the sacred record must be understood.

It must be confessed, however, that this threefold consistency does not seem to be fully established. It is indeed true that the expressions "all the earth," "the whole heaven," are repeatedly used in Holy Writ with a limited meaning; but this does not prove that it is actually so in the Biblical record of the Flood: under the pen of its author the expressions "all men," "all flesh," do not seem to be any more extensive than "all the animals," all the earth," "the whole heaven."¹ In like manner, it may be readily conceded that the Hebrew tradition of the Flood goes back ultimately to the witnesses of the event, without, however, admitting this as a conclusive proof that the inspired writer who, at a much later date, embodied it in our Biblical record, did not regard the Deluge as absolutely universal. Finally, even granting that, in this matter, ecclesiastical tradition is no infallible interpreter of the meaning of the Text, it can hardly be denied that its unanimity goes far towards pointing out the natural and straightforward manner of understanding the inspired record.

Following out the line of thought adopted by the advocates of the second theory, several Catholic scholars² were soon led to maintain that the Flood did not destroy even the whole human race. According to them, there were tribes scattered far beyond the extent of territory covered by the Deluge, so that Noe and his family were not the only ones to survive it. This third theory, which is gradually gaining ground among Catholics, bids us remember that, as stated above, the expression "all men" *may* be understood in a restricted sense, just as well as these others parallel to it:

¹ Cfr. Gen. vi, 7, 17; vii, 21, 22; viii, 17, 21; ix, 15-17.

² Among whom may be mentioned DE QUATREFAGES, SCHOEHEL, A. SCHOLZ, MOTAIS, ROBERT, etc.

"all the animals," "all the earth"; and that Noe knew no more about the other peoples beyond the Patriarchal world than he did about the regions they lived in. Yea, more, it affirms that this same expression "all men" *must* be interpreted in that restricted sense: (1) because the Bible details only the history of the chosen people, and the narrative of the Flood only the punishment of the descendants of Seth together with the nations with which they were mingled;¹ (2) because in Numb. xxiv, 21, 22, there is an apparent reference to the surviving descendants of Cain; and (3) because this affords a natural explanation of the absence of all tradition concerning the Flood, among the negro race in Africa and Oceania, and probably among other races." Appeal is also made in favor of this theory to the data supplied by ethnology and linguistics, which, it is claimed, require for the formation of the many races and languages in existence upwards of 4000 B.C.,³ a lapse of time far greater than is generally admitted since the occurrence of the Flood. Finally, palæontology would lead us to the same conclusion, for, on account of the fossils of men and human industry which have been discovered, it asserts that, at the time of the Deluge, men were already scattered everywhere, in Europe, Asia, and perhaps America.

The main difficulty raised against this third theory is drawn from the manner in which the sacred books composed later than the Biblical account of the Flood in Genesis speak of those who survived this calamity: only "a remnant was left to the earth," says Ecclesiasticus xlv, 18; "all" Noe's contemporaries perished, say St. Matthew (xxiv, 37) and St. Luke (xvii, 27); "a few, that is eight souls, were

¹ Gen. vi, 2 sqq.

² Cfr. Abbé MOTAIS, *Le Déluge Biblique*; DE GIRARD, *Le Déluge devant la Critique historique*; etc.

³ Cfr. the admissions of Fr. VIGOUROUX, in "*Livres Saints et Critique Rationaliste*," vol. iii, p. 501 sq. (3d edit., 1890).

saved by water," states St. Peter (I Epist. iii, 20; see also II Epist. ii, 4-6). The answer to this difficulty is briefly as follows: "According to a well-known exegetical canon, quotations or historical dates should, if possible, be interpreted according to the sense they bear in the original text; and after all, the parallel passages just named only prove that all the people on whom the Flood came perished, except Noe's family. In I Peter iii, 20, it is distinctly said that "eight souls were saved by water; but they are contrasted with the unbelievers around Noe." ¹

In concluding this short examination of the narrative of the Flood, we would be inclined to admit: (1) that, despite all affirmations to the contrary, the obvious and apparently true meaning of the Biblical writer implies a belief in a universal Deluge entailing the death of all living beings outside those in Noe's Ark; (2) that this universality was one commensurate with the limited horizon which bounded the world at the time when the primitive tradition of the Deluge originated or even was embodied in the sacred narrative; (3) that any of the three theories which have been exposed may be freely admitted from the standpoint of theology, according as it appears more probable to each individual scholar; (4) finally, that the teachings of physical and geological sciences have entirely done away with the conception of an actual Flood which would, at any time since the creation of man, have covered the entire globe.

§ 6. *Difficulties and Probabilities concerning Primitive Chronology.*

The last topic—one merely to be touched upon in this chapter—refers to the difficulties and probabilities connected with Primitive Chronology, that is with the chronology of the period which extends from the Flood back to the crea-

¹ SCHANZ, A Christian Apology, vol. i, p. 438 (Engl. Transl.).

tion of the first man. The principal difficulties connected therewith arise chiefly from the following facts: (1) the figures for this period which are found in the genealogical table of Genesis, chap. v, and the notice of the year of the Flood in Genesis, chap. vii, 6, disagree in the Hebrew text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Septuagint. The former, followed in this by the Vulgate, makes this period cover 1656 years; whereas the Samaritan Pentateuch assigns 1307 years, and the Septuagint Version 2242, to the same interval;¹ (2) the impossibility of determining which of these three sets of figures must be considered as the primitive one; (3) the impossibility of deciding whether the genealogy of the patriarchs furnishes us with a complete list, there being great probabilities that in connection with it, as in connection with Our Lord's genealogy in St. Matthew, some links may have been intentionally omitted, inasmuch as "the number of the patriarchs, *ten*, is a common one in the lists of the prehistoric rulers or heroes of many peoples,"²

These differences are exhibited in the following table:

Names of the Patriarchs in Gen. v.	Age of each when next was born.		
	Heb. and Vulg.	Samaritan.	Septuagint.
Adam	130	130	230
Seth	105	105	205
Enos	90	90	190
Cainan	70	70	170
Malaleel	65	65	165
Jared	162	62	162
Henoch	65	65	165
Methuselah	187	67	167
Lamech	182	53	188
Noe	500	500	500
From Noe to the Flood.....	100	100	100
Years from Creation to the Flood..	1656	1307	2242

² E. L. CURTISS, art. Chronology, in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. i, p. 397; see also VIGOUROUX, loc. cit., p. 477 sq.

and is also employed for the post-diluvian patriarchs;¹ (4) the certainty that the respective dates for the Flood and for the Creation of Man which have been considered for centuries as close approximations on the basis of the data supplied by the Bible, cannot be held as such any longer on account of the well-ascertained facts and inferences of geology and ethnography; for ethnography requires that we should put back by several thousand years (as is granted by Bellynck, S.J., Brunengo, S.J., Rault, Thomas, Card. Meignan, Card. Gonzalez, O.P., Hummelauer, S.J., etc.) the traditional date of the Flood; and geology, that of man's creation by several thousands more, as is affirmed by such learned and Christian geologists as de Lapparent, de Nadaillac, Arcelin, etc., etc.²; (5) lastly, in spite of all this, the fact that we find such precision in the figures of the genealogical table which is embodied in the historical book of Genesis.

In view of these and other such difficulties, Christian scholars and scientists have been led to adopt, as either certain or probable, positions very different from those generally held in past centuries. Some, following in this the example of St. Jerome, despair of fixing the chronology of the Old Testament, and decline to have anything to do with it, in order to divert their researches into a more profitable channel. Others, on the contrary, declare that "the Bible indicates, in a measure which suffices for its divine scope, the chronological order of the facts which it relates. But the Holy Spirit not having inspired it in order to found, or cast light upon, the science of chronology, we should not seek in it a detailed and precise chronology, a complete

¹ Gen. xi, 10 sqq.

² For grounds, see PELT, *Histoire de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. i, p. 102 sq.; VIGOUROUX, *loc. cit.*, p. 481 sqq.; and *Dict. de la Bible*, art. *Chronologie Biblique*, col. 718 sqq.; and works on *Historical Geology and Palæontology* by DE LAPPARENT, DANA, LE CONTE, etc.

system of dates accurately indicated, methodically connected, and perfectly preserved";¹ all its data may therefore be utilized, but should not be absolutely depended upon. At any rate, and this is most important to bear in mind, the best-informed scholars and interpreters maintain with Card. Meignan that "it would be an error to imagine that the Catholic faith requires us to believe that man's creation occurred within the last 6000 years; . . . revelation has no precise teaching in that regard."² Again, owing to the manifest insufficiency of Biblical data, they generally admit that the task of fixing approximate dates for either the Flood or man's creation falls naturally within the province of human sciences, particularly of ethnography and geology. Finally, it is by far the most common opinion that these sciences, while not giving a precise date for those events, have made it necessary to refer them to a period much more remote than the one formerly admitted.

In regard to the longevity of the patriarchs, several Catholic scholars have adopted Bunsen's theory, according to which the figures giving the age at which the heads of families begot their first-born, and the length of their life afterwards, are later additions designating regular cycles. The primitive text, it is supposed, stated only the duration of the life of those various heads who really personified an entire series of individuals, so that when we are told that they lived 700 or 900 years, we should understand it of their life in themselves and in their descendants. This is not an altogether improbable opinion.³

¹ Abbé DE FOVILLE, S.S., quoted by Father ZAHM, loc. cit., p. 306. Cfr. also BRUCKER, S.J., in "La Controverse," March 1886, p. 383.

² "Le Monde et l'Homme Primitif," p. 163 (Paris, 1869). Card. GONZALEZ, O.P., says in this connection: "The Church has censured no opinions regarding the antiquity of the human race" (La Biblia y la Ciencia, 1892).

³ See VIGOUROUX, Livres Saints et Critique Rationaliste, vol. iv, p. 224 (Paris, 1891), and Manuel Biblique, vol. ii, n. 333; J. TAYLOR, art. Patriarchs in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. iii.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER V.

DIVISION I.—THE OPENING HISTORICAL BOOKS : GENESIS—JOSUE.

Chapter V. The Middle Books : Exodus ; Leviticus ; Numbers.

I. THE BOOK OF EXODUS :	{	1. Its Literary Structure. 2. Its Historical Character :	{	The historical existence of Moses. Recent Difficulties regarding the Exodus from Egypt.
	{	3. The Decalogue (Literary Forms,—Divine and Mosaic Authorship).		

II. THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS :	{	1. Its Literary Structure. 2. Its Historical Character :	{	General Historical Significance. The Statements in Jeremiah vii, 22 ; Amos v, 25.
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III. THE BOOK OF NUMBERS :	{	1. Its Literary Structure. 2. Its Historical Character : 3. Its Religious Teaching.	{	General Historical Significance. Section referring to Balaam.
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CHAPTER V.

THE MIDDLE BOOKS: EXODUS; LEVITICUS; NUMBERS.

§ 1. *The Book of Exodus.*

1. Its Literary Structure. Critics generally grant that the same literary structure which they recognize in Genesis is to be found in Exodus. The same principal sources, J, E and P, having the same characteristics, are interwoven in the latter in the same manner as in the former, and, as they claim, apparently by the same hands. For the sake of brevity, we shall not enter into the details of their analysis, but simply give a synopsis of the literary Contents of Exodus, on the basis of the *Oxford Hexateuch* edited by J. E. Carpenter and G. H. Battersby :¹

§ 1. Exodus i-xiii, 16.

Israel in Egypt.

J	E	P
16 Death of Joseph.		11-5 The Israelites in Egypt.
18-12 14a Oppression of the children of Israel by the Egyptians.	. . . . .	17 Their increase. 113 14b And oppression by the Egyptians.
120b 22 Pharaoh charges the people to throw the male children into the river.	115-21§ Pharaoh commands the midwives to kill the male children. 21-10 Moses rescued from the bulrushes.	
211-22 Moses kills an Egyptian and flees to Madian: marries Sephora.		
223a Death of the king of Egypt.	. . . . .	223b-25 God hears the cry of the children of Israel.

¹ For detailed information, besides the *Oxford Hexateuch*, see HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. Exodus; B. W. BACON, *The Threefold Tradition of the Exodus*; DRIVER, *Introd. to the Literat. of the Old Test.*, p. 22 sqq. (6th Edition); etc.

J	E	
32-18 The commission to Moses at the burning bush.	31-22§ The commission to Moses : the revelation of the name Yahweh.	(||62-9.)
41-9 Signs for convincing the Israelites		
410-12 Yahweh will be with Moses' mouth.		
413-16 Aron shall be his spokesman.	417. 20b The gift of the rod. Farewell to Jethro.	
419-23§ Moses directed to return.		
424-26 'A bridegroom of blood.'	427. Aaron goes to meet Moses.	
429-31 The people believe.	5 Permission asked to go and hold a feast in the wilderness.	
53 Permission asked to go three days' journey to sacrifice.	54 People sent to their burdens.	
55-23 Increased tasks.	(|| 3§.)	62-9 Revelation of Yahweh and commission of Moses.
(|| 3§.)		610-77 Instructions to Moses and Aaron (Genealogies).
		78-13 Rod and Serpents.
714-25§ Nile water smitten.	715-20§ Water turned into blood.	719-22 Water turned into blood.
8 Frogs and Flies.	. . . . .	85 19§ Frogs and Lice.
91-17 Murrain on cattle.		98-12 Boils on men.
913-35§ Hail and thunder.	922-35§ Thunder, Hail and Fire.	
101 29§ Locusts.	1012-20§ Locusts.	
	1021-23 27 Darkness.	
114-8 Death of Firstborn announced.	111-3 One plague more announced.	
L1221-27 The Passover.	. . . . .	L121-28§ 43-50 Passover and Mazzoth.
1229-34 Death of Firstborn.	. . . . .	1240.. 51 March out.
1237.. March to Succoth.	. . . . .	131 Firstborn and Firstlings.
133-16 Mazzoth, Firstborn, Firstlings.		
§ 2. Exodus xlii, 17-xviii.		
From Egypt to Sinai.		
1321 Yahweh leads the March.	1317.. March to Red Sea: Joseph's bones.	1320 March to Socoth.
14§ Pursuit; the Pillar; Crossing; Destruction of Egyptians.	14§ Pursuit; Angel of God; Egyptians discomfited.	14§ Pursuit; Crossing; Egyptians overwhelmed.
151-18 Song of Moses.	1520 Song of Mary.	
1522-27§ Sur, Mara, Elim (Numb. 11).	1525 Proving (at Massa).	
	164 Proving by bread from heaven.	16§ Elim, Sin, manna and quails.
173-7§ No water at Massa.	171-7§ No water at Meriba.	171 Raphidim.
	178-16 Fight with Amalec.	
187-11§ Visit of Moses' father-in-law.	181-12§ Visit of Jethro.	
	1813-27 Appointment of Judges.	

§ 3. Exodus xix-xl.

At Sinai.

J	E	P
1911b-25§ People to keep away, priests to draw near, Theophany.	1926 Israel before Mt. Sinai.	191-24 Arrival at Sinai.
(3410-26).	193-19§ Moses goes up, message, people to be hal- lowed, Theophany. 201-17 The Decalogue. 2018-21 People fear; Moses approaches. 2022-2319 Words and Judg- ments combined. 2320-33 Concluding dis- course.	
241-9 Moses, Aaron and 70 elders go up, see God, and feast.	243-8 Moses binds people by a Covenant; Sacri- ficial feast. 2412-18§ Moses goes up to receive the Tables and remains 40 days.	2415b-18b Moses goes up; the cloud and glory.
(3427).	3118b Gift of Tables of stone.	25-31 Instructions as to Sanctuary and Priest- hood. 3118a Gift of Tables of the Testimony.
3225-29 Revolt, Loyalty of Levites.	321-35§ The Golden Calf, Breaking of Tables, Intercession of Moses.	
331-4 Instructions to depart; mourning.	336 People strip off orna- ments.	
3312-23 Moses' colloquy with Yahweh.	337-11 Tent of Meeting; Moses' colloquy with Yahweh.	
341-9 Tables hewn, Theoph- any.	(2022-2319).	
3410-26 Ten Words of Yah- weh.	(3118).	
3427 Covenant, Tables en- graved.		3429-35 Moses descends; his face shines. 35-40 Sanctuary prepared and erected.

2. Its Historical Character. It is not necessary to repeat and insist on the general remark which was made at the beginning of the foregoing chapter, to wit, that the compilatory character of a sacred book does not interfere necessarily with its historical value. The compiling of traditions and documents was clearly in vogue when the Old Testament historical books were composed, and has left its unmistakable impress even upon the composition of our first three Gospels,¹ but, for all that, has no more impaired

¹ This point will be studied in detail, in connection with the *Synoptic Gospels*, in the author's forthcoming volume of *Special Introduction to the New Testament*.

the real value of the former than that of the latter. Nor can it be said, as is oftentimes asserted by rationalistic scholars, that the rewriting of such traditions or documents from a later or special standpoint by Israel's prophetic or priestly narrators interferes materially with their historical character. The modern scholar can still ascertain the existence of such primitive sources by the divergences and literary features which have been preserved, and in fact feel all the surer about the events narrated, because handed down, not through only one source of information, but through several, whose independence can easily be shown.¹ The student of history should, moreover, bear in mind that from the beginning of Exodus the traditions largely lose the character of *family* life which they exhibit in Genesis, and are concerned more directly with Israel's *national* life, from the death of Joseph to the erection of the Tabernacle by Moses. This very fact points not unlikely to "a now larger basis of historical recollection"² among the chosen people, while it allows us to view the facts narrated in the more distinct light both of Israel's subsequent national life and of Egyptian contemporary history. It is precisely from this twofold historical standpoint that the events set forth in the book of Exodus have been examined during the nineteenth century, and that, as a rule, their trustworthy character has shone out most vividly. This is particularly true in connection with the personality of Moses, whose historical existence is borne witness to, not only by a reference to his name in one of the most ancient documents of the Hexateuch,³ but also, and in a very special manner, by all the perfectly ascertained events of Israel's early national life and subsequent social and religious his-

¹ This is very well shown by A. KITTEL, *A History of the Hebrews*, vol. i, p. 222 sqq. (Engl. Transl.).

² B. W. BACON, *The Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, p. 3.

³ *Exod.* xvii.

tory.¹ This is also particularly true in connection with the narrative of Israel's oppression in Egypt and their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, the historical character of which the wonderful discoveries in the land of the Pharaohs have so powerfully confirmed throughout the nineteenth century.² It must be confessed, however, that much of the confidence with which archæologists were wont to maintain that the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt under Ramesses II., and escaped from it under Menephtah I., has recently disappeared. On the famous "Israel-stelè" discovered in 1896, by Mr. Flinders Petrie, the name of Israel was read for the first time on an Egyptian monument, and it was also unmistakably stated that what Menephtah I. had had to do with "the people of Israel" was to "lay them waste" *when already settled in Palestine*.³

3. The Decalogue (*Its Literary Forms.—Divine and Mosaic Authorship*). Of all the small bodies of primitive law which contemporary critics consider as embodied in the book of the Exodus, none has occupied more their attention than the Decalogue,⁴ "the groundwork of the Mosaic religion, destined to be developed and applied according to circumstances."⁵ One of the problems connected with the "Ten Words" arises from a comparison between their twofold literary form in Exodus and in Deuteronomy (v, 6-21), not unlike the twofold manner in which St. Matthew and St. Luke record the Lord's Prayer. The chief points of difference between the two parallel texts of the Decalogue are as follows: "In Exodus,

¹ For details, see KITTEL, loc. cit., vol. i, p. 239 sq.; and W. H. BENNETT, art. Moses, in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. iii, p. 44 sqq.

² Cfr. "Outlines of Jewish History," Chap. V sqq., and works therein referred to.

³ For the translation of this inscription, by PETRIE, see "New World," March 1899, p. 31; for that by W. SPIEGELBERG, see the "Oxford Hexateuch," vol. i. p. 170.

⁴ Exod. xx, 1-17.

⁵ VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. ii, n. 375, § 5.

the sabbath is to be kept, because Yahweh made all things in six days and rested the seventh; in Deuteronomy, because the slave as well as his master needs rest.¹ Here too, as in the command to honor parents, there are amplifications of language peculiar to the recension in Deuteronomy.² In Exodus, the Israelite is forbidden to covet his neighbor's house, and then wife, slave and cattle are specified as possessions included within the Hebrew idea of house or household (xx, 17). In Deuteronomy, the commandment is adapted to a later and more humane view. First, the Israelite is not to 'covet' his neighbor's wife. Next, he is not to 'desire' his neighbor's house, land, slaves, etc. The separation of the wife from mere property is very significant."³ A natural explanation of these and other such differences between the two wordings of the Decalogue is found in the theory that originally it was composed of very concise precepts, all couched in the same brief form under which some have actually come down to us, as, for instance: "Thou shalt not kill"; "thou shalt not commit adultery"; "thou shalt not steal"; and that it is only in the course of time that reasons, varying according to the various writers and periods, were added to some of them.

While this theory accounts for both the common element and for its variations, in the two parallel texts of the Decalogue, it also allows us to refer to Moses only that common element which, as unbiassed historical criticism must needs grant, contains nothing that would reflect a period posterior to the great lawgiver's time.⁴

But the Decalogue is not ascribed to Moses alone by the

¹ Exod. xx, 8, 9, 11; Deut. v, 12-15.

² Exod. xx, 12; Deut. v, 16.

³ W. E. ADDIS, art. Decalogue, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i, col. 1049. For other differences, see W. P. PATERSON, in *HASTINGS*, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. Decalogue, p. 580; BACON; DRIVER; DILLMANN; BRIGGS; etc.

⁴ Cfr. W. P. PATERSON, *loc. cit.*, p. 581; KITTEL, *Hist. of the Hebrews*, vol. i, p. 243 sqq. (Engl. Transl.); R. L. OTTLEY, *Aspects of the Old Test*, p. 215 sqq.

Biblical account; it is also, and in a most explicit manner, described as having God for its immediate author. The scene of the giving of the law is laid at the foot of Sinai, where the Hebrew nation is gathered to receive a revelation,¹ and actually listens to the words of God, which reach in articulate tones the ears of the terrified people.² These divine words were afterwards written by the very finger of God on two tables of stone,³ which, after they had been broken by Moses, were replaced by two others on which He had promised to rewrite the former commands.⁴ Whether God did actually rewrite them does not indeed appear;⁵ but the very same divine words were certainly engraved on the latter two tables which were afterwards deposited in the Ark, as we are told in Deuter. x, 4, 5. Very mysterious indeed was the Theophany wherein Yahweh made His presence and will known upon Mount Sinai; and hardly less obscure, because very complicated and apparently conflicting in some of its details, is the account of it which has come down to us. But this should in no way induce us to deny the historical character of the transactions at Sinai. "However tangled up the various threads of the account may be, one thing stands out as the most important point in all the narratives: the centre of everything that happens here is the revelation of Yahweh at Sinai in a law which is to rule the life of the people. With respect to the contents and compass of this law the narrators vary from each other more widely, almost, than as to the external history of the lawgiving. Nothing could be more natural. For no other event could so interest the people; none

¹ Exod. xix, 17.

² Exod. xx, 19; Deut. iv, 12.

³ Exod. xxxi, 18; Deut. iv, 13.

⁴ Exod. xxxiv, 1.

⁵ Cfr. Exod. xxxiv, 1, 28.

would be so frequently reported as this. But, with all the differences, the narrators agree as to the thing itself.”¹

§ 2. *The Book of Leviticus.*

1. Its Literary Structure. While Genesis and Exodus are divided by contemporary critics between the great literary sources which they admit at the basis of those sacred books, the 27 chapters of Leviticus are assigned by them all to only one document, viz., the Priestly Code (P). Nevertheless, they agree in recognizing “the Law of Holiness,” in Leviticus (chaps. xvii–xxvi), as a special section marked by certain peculiar features of its own, and in admitting several different strata in the remainder of the book. Here are the leading literary divisions, as given by the *Oxford Hexateuch*, edited by J. E. Carpenter and G. H. Battersby:²

PRIESTLY TORAH (Pt).	GREAT PRIESTLY WRITING (Pg).	LATER PRIESTLY SECTIONS (Ps).
1–7§ Sacrifice (see colophon in 7 ^{37, 38}).		4 The Sin offering.
11–15 Clean and Unclean.	9 Consecration of priesthood, sequels.	8 Consecration of Priesthood.
17–26§ Law of Holiness (most ancient code).	162–28§ Aaron to atone for the people.	16 Annual Day of Atonement.
	23§ Calendar of sacred days.	25 Sacred Years.
		27 Vows.

2. Its Historical Character. Even when the foregoing literary divisions of Leviticus are taken for granted, it is easy to vindicate the general historical significance of that sacred book from the destructive assertions of Rationalists. Sound historical sense requires that we should assume a liturgical system as an integrant part of the history of ancient Judaism, and Leviticus supplies it to us, first by its con-

¹ KITTEL, loc. cit., p. 235; cfr also HANNEBERG, *Histoire de la Révélation Biblique*, vol. i, pp. 100, 106, 107 (French Transl.); Card. MEIGNAN, *de Moïse à David*, p. 1 sqq.

² For details, beside the *Oxford Hexateuch*, see art. Leviticus, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*; DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 42 sqq; *Leviticus* in *Sacred Books of Old Test.*, edit. by P. Haupt; B. W. BACON, *Triple Tradition of the Exodus*; etc.

tents, and next by its place in the first series of the Old Testament historical books, which extends from Genesis to the fourth book of Kings.¹ The compilatory character of Leviticus does not necessarily entail its non-historical character, any more than in connection with Exodus or any other such historical compilation. On the contrary, it points to the clearly historical manner in which the liturgical element of the Old Testament dispensation grew, pretty much in the same way as our liturgical books bear witness to the gradual development of Christian worship at a later date. Nor should the contents of Leviticus be treated as deprived of historical value because they have come down to us—so at least contemporary critics affirm—in a literary mould of a later date than was formerly admitted. For, as granted by such an advanced critic as G. Harford-Battersby: "The earlier collections it contains carry us back to the earlier years of the monarchy, and the later ones preserve probably with accuracy the procedure at the Temple during the period after Josias' reformation, and no doubt partially reflect the praxis of previous centuries, for the continuity of custom and persistency of ritual, where no historical revolution has taken place, must be remembered." ² Finally, the striking and numerous parallels which archæologists of the nineteenth century have instituted between the Levitical and the Egyptian worships have conclusively shown that the ritual of the book of Leviticus had a no less firm than extensive basis in history.³

It is true that such statements as Jeremias vii, 22: "I

¹ This first series, as is well known, is parallel to a second one comprising the books of Paralipomenon or 'Chronicles. Cfr. DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old. Test.*, p. 4 (6th edit.).

² G. HANFORD BATTERSBY, art. *Leviticus*, in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii, p. 108; cfr. also VAN DEN BIESEN, in *Dublin Review*, Jan. 1893, p. 50 sqq.

³ For details, see "Outlines of Jewish History," and the valuable works of VIGOUROUX, HARPER, SAYCE, etc., etc., on the Bible and modern Discoveries.

(Yahweh speaks) spoke not to your fathers, and I commanded them not, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices"; and Amos v, 25: "Did you offer victims and sacrifices to Me in the desert for forty years, O House of Israel," seem at first blush to bear out the rationalistic position concerning the non-Mosaic character of the whole Levitical worship in ancient Judaism. In fact, Father Chas. Robert¹ writes of the former passage: "This is a flat denial that Moses enacted laws concerning holocausts and sacrifices. The explanations usually given to the contrary are no explanations at all." There are, however, several possible ways out of the difficulty, which have been pointed out by Orelli, Knabenbauer, and others, in their commentaries on Jeremias. One, probably the best, of these explanations construes the prophet's words in verse 22 as an antithesis to the idea expressed in verse 23, after the following manner: "I commanded your fathers not so much in respect of holocausts and sacrifices as rather enjoined the obedience due to My voice by My own people." This meaning is in perfect harmony with general Semitic usage,² and seems required by the passages where Jeremias evinces a distinct acquaintance with Mosaic precepts regarding sacrifices.³

The other statement quoted from Amos (v. 25) offers still less difficulty. Even W. Robertson Smith takes it to mean that the Mosaic system of sacrifice did not go into full and developed operation in the Wilderness, a fact of which we have hints elsewhere (for instance, Deuter. xii, 8, 9), and

¹ Réponse à l'Encyclique et les Catholiques Anglais et Américains, p. 19.

² Cfr. Osee, vi, 6; 1 Kings, xv, 22.

³ Cfr. OVELLI, on Jeremias, p. 77 sq. (Engl. Transl.). It must be said, however, that the solutions suggested by Father ROBERT himself (loc. cit.) of a possible interpolation, or of a later Mosaic legislation regarding sacrifice, called Mosaic because in accordance with the spirit and other regulations of the great lawgiver of Israel, have their own amount of probability. Cfr. S. DAVIDSON, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. i, p. 339 sq. (London, 1862).

which is implied in the language of several of the laws themselves.¹ The prophet's words are not, therefore, in opposition to the historical character of the book of Leviticus as maintained above.

3. Its Leading Religious Ideas. But whatever may be thought of the later developments which contemporary scholars claim in regard to the ceremonial laws as embodied in Exodus, it is beyond question that the leading religious ideas contained in this sacred book are of great and permanent value. The key-note of all the detailed and intricate regulations which make up its chapters is found in the oft-repeated sentence: "Be ye holy, because I Yahweh your God am holy":² the land, the people, the private citizen, the ruler, the priest, etc., are the land, the people, the subject, the minister of a holy God, and therefore must be holy, that is must abstain from aught that could defile them, and atone by sacrifices of the right kind for their various sins and trespasses. This fundamental teaching of Leviticus was of the greatest importance to Israel in all the stages of its existence as a nation among idolatrous peoples, and is of no less importance to the new "Israel of God" living in the midst of a corrupt world. The Law of Sacrifice as promulgated in Leviticus was, and will ever remain, in perfect harmony with our human need for something visible and outward in divine worship, while its particulars happily illustrated the various feelings of thanksgiving, adoration, etc., which every rational creature owes to its Maker, and foreshadowed the perfect Sacrifice offered on Calvary and continually renewed on our altars, with its infinite atoning and vivifying power. The Law of the Consecration of the priesthood, together with its detailed ordinances regarding

¹ Exod. xii, 25; Levit. xiv, 34; xxiii, 10; xxv, 2; etc., etc.

² Levit. xi, 44; xix, 2; xx, 7; etc.

the priests' duties and holiness, must ever remain solemn reading for those who now share in Christ's own priesthood, mediators between God and His people, and offer to the Almighty no other Victim than the true Lamb of God. Finally, "the Law of Clean and Unclean" enforces precepts of hygiene, of self-respect, etc., which, either in themselves, or at least in their spirit, are of great value for the individual and public welfare down to the present day.¹

§ 3. *The Book of Numbers.*

I. Its Literary Structure. The first ten chapters of Numbers closely resemble the Priestly source utilized throughout Leviticus, and in that respect differ considerably from the second part of the book of Numbers (chaps. xi-xxxvi). In this second part, as contemporary scholars tell us, the literary structure exhibits the same general features as Exodus, "J E reappearing by the side of P, though, as a rule, not being so closely interwoven with it."² Here is the analysis of Numbers as given by the *Oxford Hexateuch*, edited by J. E. Carpenter and G. H. Battersby:

§ I. The Camp at Sinai.

Numb. 1-10.

P ^t	P ^s	P ^a
5-62 ¹ Various laws.	1§ 2§ The camp ; numberings.	1-4 The camp ; numberings and arrangements.
	622-27 Priestly benediction.	7-9 Altar ; Levites ; Pass-over ; cloud.
109 Use of trumpets.	101-8 Use of trumpets.	

¹ For a detailed study of the Mosaic Law, see "Outlines of Jewish History," and books there referred to.

² DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 60 (6th edit.). For a detailed analysis, beside Driver, see the *Oxford Hexateuch* ; BACON ; HASTINGS, *Dict of the Bible*, art. Numbers ; etc.

§ 2. Israel in the Wilderness.

Numb. 1010-21.

J	E	P
1029-36§ March from Yahweh's mount.	(111-3 Taberah incident. (|| Ex. 164)	1011-28 34 March from Sinai.
114-35 Manna and Quails, Kibroth-hattavah, Haseeroth.	1124-30 The seventy elders. 121-15 Aaron, Mary and Moses.	(|| Ex. 16.)
1216 * Haseeroth to Pharan.	13§ Spies and their report.	12§ Twelve spies and their report.
13§ Spies and their report.	14 People mourn and rebel, are turned back to wilderness, attempt to advance.	14 People murmur, all excluded but Caleb and Josue.
14 People weep, and are all excluded but Caleb and family, and the little ones; advance, defeat at Horma.	16§ Revolt of Dathan and Abiron.	15 Various laws. 16§ Kore and his company. 17 Aaron's rod that budded. 18-19 Priestly revenue; defilement.
16§ Revolt of On.		

§ 3. In the Plains of Moab.

Numb. 20-36.

204-8§ Water from the rock.	201 Cades; Mary's death. (|| Ex. 171..)	201 Wilderness of Sin. 202-13§ Water from the rock.
2019.. Way by Edom barred.	2013-22a Way by Edom barred; departure from Cades.	2022b Arrival at Hor; death of Aaron.
211-3 Chanaanites beaten; Horma.	214-9 Fiery serpents. 2111b-15 Itinerary; conquest of Sehon and Amorites.	214 Hor left.
2116-32 33-35 Itinerary, conquest of the Amorites (and Basan).	22-23§ Balac and Balaam	2110 Itinerary.
22-24§ Balac and Balaam.	251-5§ Sittim; Baal-Phegor.	221 Camp in plains of Moab. 256-18 Madianite woman; Phinees. 26-2711 Census; inheritance. 2712-23 Moses' successor. 28-31 Offerings; vows; war. 321-38 The Trans-Jordan tribes. 33 Itinerary; the future. 34 Chanaan and its distribution. 35 Forty-eight Levitical cities to give asylum. 36 Rights of heiresses.
251-4§ Moabite women.		
5:39-42 Manasses in Galaad.		

* In Vulgate, xiii, 1.

2. Its Historical Character. Much of what was said in favor of the historical significance of the book of Leviticus could be repeated in favor of that of the book of Numbers. This is particularly true in connection with Numbers i-x, the literary structure of which, as is admitted by all critics, resembles so closely that of Leviticus, but is also true in reference to the remainder of the book of Numbers, in so far as the priestly document was utilized by its compiler. We shall not therefore insist on the historical significance of all such priestly portions in Numbers. Nor shall we stop to establish the general historical character of the prophetic narrative in that sacred book; for, on the one hand, we would have to make, in substance, the same remarks as in regard to the corresponding part in Exodus; and, on the other, only hypercritics at the present day, would venture to question the general historical significance of the prophetic account in the book of Numbers: "The general facts of the delay in entering Chanaan, the roundabout route, and the conquest of the Amorites, being witnessed by both lines (J, E) of tradition, and agreeable to the rest of our knowlege, emerge as well established."¹

There is a comparatively short section, however, which, owing to the peculiar character of its contents, claims a passing notice, viz.: the section which concerns Balaam and his prophecies, in Numb. xxii-xxiv. Balaam's exact frame of mind, religious feelings, and general conduct were always a matter of discussion among Church writers.² This arose chiefly from the fact that the Biblical narrative describes him with apparently conflicting details; and it is well known that other peculiarities of the episode—such as the ap-

¹ H. A. WHITE, art. Numbers, in HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible, vol. iii, p. 573. For details, see "Outlines of Jewish History," and books there referred to.

² Cfr. CARD. MEIGNAN, *de Moïse à David*. p. 200 sq.; VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 377, footn. 2; etc.

parent changes in God's conduct towards Balaam,¹ the strange incident of the ass addressing her master in human tones, etc.—have raised difficulties of another kind in the minds of many commentators. The discrepant details regarding Balaam's character and conduct, and also the apparent changes in God's dealings with him, are best accounted for by appealing to the compilatory character of the section, and do not interfere with its historical character, any more than the discrepant accounts of St. Peter's denials, for instance, in the evangelical narratives, destroy their historical value. As regards the incident of the ass rebuking Balaam, nothing compels us, say some Catholic scholars, to take it as a fact positively endorsed by the inspired writer of the book of Numbers, any more than by St. Peter's second Epistle (ii, 6). "St. Peter," they tell us, "in stating explicitly that the dumb animal uttered human words to rebuke the prophet's folly, speaks according to the common belief of the Jews, and draws a moral lesson from the facts rather than affirms their actual reality."² In like manner, the author of the book of Numbers, chiefly desirous to inculcate the great teaching of Yahweh's faithfulness to His chosen people, would record the traditional account of Balaam's blessing, which told so powerfully in that direction, without explicitly endorsing it.³ Other Catholic writers admit, however, that in inserting Balaam's episode, the author of Numbers warranted its substantial accuracy. The

¹ Card. MEIGNAN, *de Moïse à David*, p. 215, footn.

² Card. MEIGNAN, *ibid.*, p. 216 footn.

³ St. GREGORY OF NYSSA, towards the end of his "Life of Moses," seems to hold a similar view. He admits that the ass of Balaam simply uttered her usual cry under her master's blows; that Balaam, who was used to attribute significance to the cries of animals, construed those of his beast into a divine warning, and that his version of the event was freely reported long before it reached the sacred writer: "*cujus vocem quasi articulatam significantemque historia enarravit.*" Cf. also Jno. JAHN, *Einleitung*, vol. ii, p. 132 sq.

sacred historian "acts here," says Card. Meignan,¹ "in about the same manner as does Herodotus. He records the facts such as they were usually told, such also as Israel's poets described them after the victory over Madian which was so much celebrated in Hebrew song. But in embodying them in the Pentateuch, the lawgiver became warrant for the substance of the narrative. The historical character of the facts which underlie the narrative is not therefore impaired. Through the metaphors and poetical licenses of the Psalm 'In Exitu Israel,' history may be discerned. When the Psalmist writes that the waters of the river Jordan went backwards, he simply renders into poetical language the expression 'steterunt aquæ' in Josue iii, 16. . . . Thus, then, while pointing out numerous poetical features of Balaam's episode, criticism should not deny its historical character. The account is that of a writer who, in order to render facts more impressive, has preserved them with the colors which they already possessed in popular narratives."

Whence it clearly appears that it is not necessary to adopt the strict literal meaning of Balaam's episode to vindicate its historical character. Most Catholic scholars, however, interpret the text in its strict literal sense.²

3. Its Religious Teaching. Few books of Holy Writ contain a more vivid picture of the Christian's pilgrimage, and of the difficulties attending thereon, than the book of Numbers. To him, as to the chosen people, rest in God's land is truly promised; to him, as to them, God's paternal

¹ MEIGNAN, *loc. cit.*, p. 197 sq. The learned Cardinal has devoted no less than one hundred pages of his remarkable book, "de Moïse à David," to his study on Balaam's character and prophecies, and all those pages fully deserve perusal.

² In regard to Balaam's prophecies, beside Meignan's work just referred to, see VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*; DELITZSCH, BRIGGS, Charles ELLIOTT, and others, on *Old Test. Prophecy*; Dom CALMET, TROCHON, VON HUMMELAUER, and other Commentators on the book of Numbers.

and constant protection is faithfully extended; he, like them, proves repeatedly unfaithful, ungrateful and ungenerous, and yet he, like them, can reach the Land of Promise with its ideal prosperity and everlasting possession, only in so far as he overcomes his passions, the allurements of worldly pleasures, and "walks worthy of the vocation in which he is called."¹ In a word, all that befell Israel in their march toward Chanaan can be easily taken as a figure applicable to the Christian soul, as also to the Christian Church.²

"The fact is well brought out that a nation as well as an individual may have a moral and religious character, and be bound by its acts. Proved to be unprepared for conquest and colonization, Israel is subjected to the discipline of delay."³

Lastly, in Numbers, as in Leviticus, numerous religious teachings for priests and levites and worshippers are supplied which remain of great practical value, if not in their material features, at least in their spiritual import. The distinction between the priestly and the lay elements in the Jewish Church, together with the subordination of the latter to the former, should also be noticed.⁴

¹ Ephes iv, 1.

² I Cor. x, 1-11; Hebr. iii, 7-iv, 1. Cfr. TROCHON, *Les Nombres* (in *Lethielleux'* Bible), p. 9 sq.

³ G. H. BATTERSBY, art. Numbers, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii, p. 573

⁴ Numb xvi sqq

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER VI.

DIVISION I.—THE OPENING HISTORICAL BOOKS: GENESIS—JOSUE.

Chapter VI. The Books of Deuteronomy and Josue.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|
| I. | { | 1. Its Literary Structure. | |
| | | 2. Its Relation to the Preceding Books. | |
| THE BOOK OF
DEUTERONOMY: | | 3. Its Scope and Character: | { Not only a Code of
Laws, but also a
Book of Religious
Instruction. |
| | | 4. Its Literary Influence upon Other Sacred Writings. | |
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| II. | { | 1. Its Literary Structure. | |
| | | 2. Its Separation from the Pentateuch, and Relation to Judges i-ii, 5. | |
| THE BOOK OF
JOSUE: | | 3. Its Historical Character: | { Ancient Poetical
Fragments.

The Historical Existence of Josue.

The National Unity of Israel before and when they crossed the Jordan. |
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CHAPTER VI.

THE BOOKS OF DEUTERONOMY AND JOSUE.

§ 1. *The Book of Deuteronomy.*

I. Its Literary Structure. According to contemporary scholars, "the structure of Deuteronomy is relatively simple."¹ Chaps. i-xxx are ascribed to one source, the Deuteronomist (D), the various strata of which can still be pointed out. At the basis of the discourses in this main part of the book there lie, we are told, narrative and laws from J E contained in the preceding books of the Pentateuch, and also laws drawn from other sources. The remaining chapters (xxxi-xxxiv) are referred either to the same author, or to one fully imbued with the same spirit, who has embodied extracts from J E and other documents, recording incidents connected with the death of Moses. Finally, excerpts from Priestly sources brought the whole work thus constituted into relation with the literary framework of the Hexateuch.² The following is the literary Analysis given by the *Oxford Hexateuch* :

D ¹	D ²	J	E	P
445-49 Introduction to the original Code.	1-44 Historical Introduction enriched by archæological notes and other supplements. 45-49 (see below).	P 13	The fortieth year the eleventh month.	
51-64 64-25 8 7 9-11				
} Opening Homilies.				
		E 106	Death of Aaron, appointment of Eleazar.	

¹ DRIVER, *Introd. to Literature of Old Test.*, p. 71 (6th edit.).

² Cfr. DRIVER, *ibid.* ; W. H. BENNETT and W. F. ADENEY, *Biblical Introduction*, p. 71 ; ADDIS, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, vol. ii; etc.

D ¹	D ²	J	E	P
12-18 Code of religious laws connected with the law of the central sanctuary or otherwise needing special enforcement.				
19-25 Groups of miscellaneous laws.				
26 Continuation of 12-18.	27§ Memorial stones, blessings and curses.	E 275-7a	Altar for sacrifice to be built (on Ebal).	
28§ } Closing Discourse, with blessings and curses.	279 } 45-40 } Closing Discourse. 3011-20 } 3245-47 }			
	29 Another Closing Discourse.			
	311-8 Farewell of Moses and charge to Josue.	E 3114,23	Charge to Josue.	
	3116-22 Introduction to Song.			
219-13 Writing of the Law and provision for periodical reading.	3124-29 The Law written in a book and placed in the ark.			
	321-44 Song of Moses.	33§	Blessing of Moses.	
		P 3248-52	Moses sees the	
		341-9§	Land and dies	
		J 341-4§	Moses sees the	
			Land but enters not.	
		E 345.	Moses dies and is buried.	

2. Its Relation to the Preceding Books. As might naturally be expected from a book which is an integrant part of the historical and literary unit which comprises Genesis-Josue, the contents of Deuteronomy have a certain connection with those of the preceding books. It is plain, for instance, that the discourses of which Deuteronomy is chiefly made up contain much by way of retrospect of the history of the Hebrews which is told in Genesis-Numbers. It is clear likewise that they repeat many of the legal enactments recorded in those books, with a view to enforce their fulfilment. In fact the whole book has often been regarded as little more than an eloquent "recapitulation" of the books that precede it, and the very name (Deuteronomy, i.e. second law) which it bears conveys about the same idea.

But, though real, this connection between Deuteronomy and the preceding books should not be exaggerated. As is

well stated by Vigouroux,¹ "Deuteronomy constitutes a self-contained whole. It is not connected with Numbers in the same intimate way as the latter is with Leviticus, and Leviticus with Exodus; and further, its divisions are more clearly marked." In other ways, too, Deuteronomy bears the impress of a work in some manner separate from the rest of the Pentateuch: (1) nearly the whole book looks like a long parenthesis inserted between the two divine commands given to Moses to prepare for death, and interrupting the main thread of the narrative;² (2) the marked characteristics of style and diction, which are so obvious to the reader, whether of the original Hebrew or of a careful translation, and which are not merely due to the oratorical form adopted by the author of the book; (3) the important distinction in respect of contents and treatment which exists between the legislative section of Deuteronomy and the parallel sections in Exodus-Numbers, and which has thus been formulated by Driver: the Deuteronomic legislation "stands in a different relation to each of the three Codes (embodied in the preceding books): it is an *expansion* of that in Exod. xx-xxiii; it is, in several features, *parallel* to the Law of Holiness (Levit. xvii-xxvi); it contains *allusions* to laws such as those codified in some parts of the Priestly Code, while from those contained in other parts its provisions differ widely";³ (4) even the historical allusions contained in Deuteronomy "are, almost without exception, references to events recorded in those portions of Exodus and Numbers which scholars assign to J E, or the 'prophetic' group of narratives incorporated in the Pentateuch,"⁴ so that they seem to have as their

¹ Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 235.

² Compare Numb. xxvii, 12-23, with Deuter. xxxi, 14-23; xxxii, 48-50.

³ DRIVER, Introd. to the Literature of the Old Test., p. 76 sq. (6th edit.). For a detailed comparison, see DRIVER, *ibid.*, p. 73 sqq.

⁴ H. E. RYLE, art. Deuteronomy, in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. i, p. 57 sq.

foundation, not our present books of Exodus and Numbers, but only those "prophetic" narratives before they were embodied in the books which precede Deuteronomy; (5) lastly, the fact suggested by the "literary structure" which is given above, that, in comparison with Genesis-Numbers, Deuteronomy is characterized by so great a unity of composition that it is commonly ranked with J E and P among the leading component elements of the Pentateuch.

3. Scope and Character of Deuteronomy. Although the foregoing remarks go to show that Deuteronomy should not be called a "recapitulation" not simply of the history, but even of the laws found in the preceding books, yet it cannot be denied that its general scope is to enforce those laws by means of allusions to facts recorded in Genesis-Numbers. In virtue of this general scope, the bulk of Deuteronomy wears the appearance of a code of laws for the Hebrew community. "In so far as it is a law-book," says Prof. Driver,¹ "Deuteronomy may be described as a manual which, without entering into technical details (almost the only exception is xiv, 3-20, which explains itself), would instruct the Israelite in the ordinary duties of life. It gives general directions as to the way in which the annual feasts are to be kept and the principal offerings paid. It lays down a few fundamental rules concerning sacrifice (xii, 5 sq., 20, 23; xv, 23; xvii, 1): for a case in which technical skill would be required, it refers to the priests (xxiv, 8). It lays down the general principles by which family and domestic life is to be regulated, specifying a number of the cases most likely to occur. Justice is to be equitably and impartially administered (xvi, 18-20). It prescribes a due position in the community to the prophet (xiii, 1-5; xviii, 9-22), and shows how even the monarchy

¹ *Introduct. to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 77.

may be so established as not to contravene the fundamental principles of the theocracy (xvii, 14 sqq.)."

Together with this legislative scope, the book of Deuteronomy has clearly another, in perfect harmony with the character of a code framed for the chosen people of God: it is eminently a book of religious instruction. Its ethical and religious character is visible in its every part, setting forth the great dogmatic and moral truths which lie at the foundation of the theocracy, inculcating every motive which may secure Israel's allegiance to Jehovah, and pointing out the holy purposes of God's laws together with the frame of mind and heart required in their execution. Among the leading religious teachings emphasized in Deuteronomy, we may more particularly mention (1) as regards God: His spirituality, His uniqueness and absolute unity: His love for Israel, which is that of a father for his first-born, since He has given Israel life by redemption from Egypt, and has brought up and educated him in the wilderness; His infinite holiness, justice, power, and supremacy, etc.; (2) as regards the Hebrew nation: its special choice by God out of all the peoples of the earth, to be "His peculiar people"; its duties of fear, reverence, faithfulness, and particularly grateful love, towards God; the holiness which its members must practise by abstaining from all idolatrous rites, by recollecting, in every action and at every moment, that they are the servants of a holy and loving God, and also by bearing in mind that love should be the determining principle of their conduct, both towards the Almighty and towards their fellow-men; (3) as regards outward worship: there is only one legitimate place of divine worship, viz., the central sanctuary chosen by Jehovah; anything and everything that would smack of idolatry or tend to betray Israel into false worships must be absolutely done away with; and the tribe of Levi is solemnly declared to

be the only one that can supply ministers for the sanctuary.¹

Finally, as belonging to the character of Deuteronomy, we shall simply mention—because obvious to the ordinary reader of the book—its *parenetic* or hortatory element especially found in the Deuteronomic discourses.

4. Deuteronomy's Literary Influence upon Other Sacred Writings. This parenetic tone of Deuteronomy, together with its very beautiful literary style and elevated moral and religious teachings, accounts for the rapid and deep influence, both literary and religious, which the book of Deuteronomy exercised upon other sacred writings. "As it (this book) fixed for long the standard by which men and actions were to be judged, so it provided the formulæ in which these judgments were expressed: in other words, it provided a religious terminology which readily lent itself to adoption by subsequent writers."² Besides, as we remarked above, the characteristics of style and diction are so marked in the book of Deuteronomy that they supply a ready standard whereby its actual literary influence upon other sacred writings may be estimated. The amount of this influence will be more fully set forth in our subsequent study of those various writings; but even from now it may be briefly stated as follows: In the historical books of Josue, Judges and Kings (viz., III and IV Kings) we often meet with passages—of a longer or shorter kind—which, on the one hand, contrast with the literary style of their general context, and which, on the other hand, are either directly borrowed from Deuteronomy, or composed after the Deuteronomic tone and manner. The writer of the Paralipomenon or Chron-

¹ For details concerning the religious character of Deuteronomy, cfr. especially DRIVER, Commentary on Deuteronomy, pp. xix-xxxiv. See also art. Deuteronomy, in HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible, p. 598 sq.

² DRIVER, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Test., p. 102 sq. See also W. E. ADDIS, "The Documents of the Hexateuch," vol. ii, p. 2 sqq. (New York, 18-8).

icles seems also, though much more seldom, to have undergone the influence of Deuteronomy, and the same thing may be said in connection with the prayers in the second book of Esdras or Nehemias (i, 5-11; ix, 6 sqq.) and in Daniel (ix, 4-19). Among the prophets, Jeremiah's thought and phraseology show most the influence of Deuteronomy, while reminiscences of it frequently appear in Ezekiel and in the second part of Isaias (xl-lxvi).¹

§ 2. *The Book of Josue.*

1. Its Literary Structure. The literary analysis of the last book of the Hexateuch, though practically settled as regards its main lines, is as yet a matter of discussion in several of its details.² All critics agree that, to a large extent, the book of Josue is a continuation of the documents used in the compilation of the Pentateuch. Viewed from this standpoint, it is made up of two distinct parts (i-xii, xiii-xxiv), the chief strata of which may be described as follows: In the first part the bulk of the narrative of the Conquest is drawn from the prophetic account (J E), itself compiled from two narratives, the precise relation of which to each other in our present book of Josue is not fully determined. The use of the Priestly account (P) of the same glorious event is reduced to a minimum in chaps. i-xii. The case stands differently in regard to the second part (xiii-xxiv). In these chapters, especially in the topographical descriptions, the Priestly document (P) has been chiefly used, while the excerpts from the Prophetic narratives (J E) are far less numerous. Together with J E and

¹ As regards the use of Deuteronomy in New Testament writings, cfr. W. H. BENNETT and W. F. ADENEY, *Biblical Introduction*, p. 76.

² For information in this regard, see art. Joshua, by G. A. SMITH, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 780 sqq. See also BENNETT and ADENEY, *loc. cit.*; DRIVER, *Introduction to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 105 sqq.; CHEYNE and BLACK, *Encyclop. Biblica*, vol. ii, art. Joshua (book); CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, vol. ii, pp. 303-319; etc.

P, critics agree in recognizing in Josue parts which, on account of their characteristic style, they refer to a Deuteronomic editor (D²). The following is the literary structure of the book of Josue, as given by the *Oxford Hexateuch*:

J	E	D ²	P
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Part I. The Conquest of Chanaan.

	11. 10. Preparations for crossing the Jordan.	12-9 Josue exhorted.	
		112-18 The Trans-jordanic tribes to help.	
2§ Spies sent to Jericho.	2§ Two spies sent to Jericho.		
3§ Passage of Jordan.	3§ Passage of Jordan	3.§ Passage of Jordan.	3.§ Passage of Jordan.
52. 9 Circumcising at Galgal.	. . . . .	54-8 The circumcising.	
512-15 Captain of Yahweh's host.			
6§ Taking of Jericho.	6§ Taking of Jericho.		510. . At Galgal; Passover.
72 26 Defeat at Hai; Achan.	. . . . .	
8§ Taking of Hai.	8§ Taking of Hai.	. . . . .	71 Achan's trespass.
		830-35 Altar on Ebal.	
9§ The Gabaonite envoys.	9§ The Gabaonite envoys	. . . . .
101-27§ Battle of Beth-horon.	101-11§ Battle of Beth-horon.	1028-43 Southern conquests	916 17-21 The Gabaonite envoys.
111 4-9 Battle of Merom.		112 10-15 Northern conquests.	
		1116-23 Survey of Josue's victories.	
		121-24 Lists of conquered kings.	

Part II. The Division of the Land.

131 7a 13 Josue to divide the land.	. . . . .	132-6 8-12 The Trans-jordanic tribes; 14 Levi.	1315-32 The Trans-jordanic tribes: 33r Levi.
1514-19 63 Caleb; Jebus.	. . . . .	146-15 Caleb.	141-5 The 9½ tribes.
16§ Joseph.	. . . . .	. . . . .	151-12 20-61 Juda.
1947 Dan.	Rje 182-10 <i>Seven tribes.</i>	. . . . .	16.§ Joseph.
		221-8 Return of Trans-jordanic tribes.	181 Assembly at Silo.
		23 Josue's farewell.	1811-1951 Seven lots.
			201-9 Cities of refuge.
			211-42 Levitical cities.
			229-34 Return of Trans-jordanic tribes: altar.

The detailed grounds tending to establish the foregoing analysis of the book of Josue cannot of course be set forth and examined here. Suffice it to say that those which seem to bear out its main lines form a cumulative argument drawn chiefly from (1) a careful comparison of the duplicate and, at times, discrepant accounts of the same events;¹ (2) a no less diligent examination of the details more or less fully harmonized which appear in one and the same narrative of an event;² (3) the literary resemblances between the various sources recognized in Josue, and those embodied in the preceding books.

2. Separation of Josue from the Pentateuch, and its Relation to Judges i-ii, 5. The literary connection which the data thus gathered up disclose between Josue and the Pentateuch is precisely such as one would expect to find in a book the whole historical scheme of which forms the necessary sequel of the history contained in the preceding books. "Its main theme," as is well stated by the Oxford Hexateuch,³ "is the establishment of Israel in the Promised Land, and it falls apart at once into two main divisions: (1) the narrative of the conquest (i-xii), and (2) the account of the distribution of the territory among the tribes (xiii-xxi), while farewell addresses of Josue (xxiii, xxiv), corresponding to the discourses in Deuteronomy, prepare for the record of the leader's death. The book thus describes the great change in the national life to which the whole Pentateuch looks forward. The gift of the land to the posterity of Abraham, so often announced, is at last effected: it is justly asserted that the Law without its continuation in Josue would be '*a torso*' (STEUERNAGEL, Das

¹ Compare, for inst., Josue xiii, 8-12 with xiii, 15-32; x, 36-39 with xv, 13-19, etc., etc.

² Cfr., for instance, Josue iii, as examined by DRIVER, *Introd. to the Literat. of the Old Test.*, p. 105 sq.; etc.

³ J. ESTLIN CARPENTER and G. HARFORD-BATT-REBY, *The Hexateuch*, vol. ii, p. 303 (Longmans, Green & Co., 1900).

Buch Joshua). At stage after stage in the preceding narrative, provision has been made for the duties and privileges of Israel when they should enter on their inheritance. At last, the long discipline of the wanderings is over, and a nation which did not look back longingly to the comforts of Egyptian plenty is ready for the strenuous march to victory. Caleb alone survives from the Israel of the desert, besides Josue, to claim the reward of his loyalty to Yahweh.¹ At the outset of the book, the commission to Josue imparted through Moses² is solemnly renewed.³ The promise of the Rubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasses to take their share in the labors of the conquest⁴ is reinforced by Josue (Jos. i, 12), and fulfilled by the tribes in question (iv, 12), so that when they have loyally discharged their obligations to their brethren they receive for themselves the inheritance they had desired (xiii, 8). The provisions instituted by Moses for the distribution of the land,⁵ for the Levitical cities and the cities of refuge,⁶ are successively enforced.⁷ Even the daughters of Salphaad⁸ are not forgotten.⁹ The first great religious act of the victorious Josue in the middle of the new country is to carry out one of the last commands of Moses,¹⁰ by rearing an altar on Ebal and solemnly inscribing the law upon its stones. In the valley of Sichem below are deposited the bones of Joseph,¹¹ in obedience to his dying request.¹² The whole scheme of

¹ Jos. xiv, 6-15. Compare Numb. xiv, 24; Deuter. i, 35.

² Numb. xxvii, 18; Deuter. iii, 28; xxxi, 7, 14, 23.

³ Jos. i, 2.

⁴ Numb. xxxii; Deuter. iii, 18.

⁵ Numb. xxxiv.

⁶ Numb. xxxv.

⁷ Josue xlii-xli, xx, xxi.

⁸ Numb. xxxvi.

⁹ Josue xvii, 3.

¹⁰ Deuter. xxvii, 1-8.

¹¹ Jos. xxiv, 32.

¹² Genesis l, 25.

Josue is thus the necessary sequel of the books which precede; and the closeness of this relation extends not only to its substance, but also to its form." Whence it is inferred that Josue must have once formed part of one and the same historical work with the preceding books; and this is why in recent critical investigations the first six books of the Old Testament are usually taken together, and dealt with as a historical and literary unit, under the collective name of the Hexateuch. How then does it come to pass that in the Hebrew Bible Josue is marked off from the Pentateuch and stands at the head of the collection of the "Prophets"? Why was it not declared canonical at the same time as the rest of that great historical and literary unit which we call the Hexateuch, and included in the *First Canon* solemnly promulgated by Esdras in the fifth century B.C. ?¹

The reason of this insignificant separation is briefly as follows: The separation was made on the basis of the legal standpoint which was predominant at the time of Nehemias and Esdras. The Hebrew legislation closes with Deuteronomy, and with the account of the death of Israel's great lawgiver, Moses; and it was legislation that Nehemias and Esdras were particularly anxious to enforce.² The "Law of Moses," or the Pentateuch alone, was therefore solemnly declared sacred and authoritative and, as we would say, canonical; while the book of Josue, which is simply history, was left over to become, in due time, the first sacred writing included in the *Second Canon*, or the "Prophets," contained in the Hebrew Bible.³

¹ This separation of Josue from the Pentateuch, and its exclusion from the *First Canon*, are proved by the fact that the Samaritans, whose definite organization as a separate community occurred after the promulgation of the *First Canon*, do not recognize as Holy Writ any other books beside the Pentateuch.

² This is obvious to the reader of the books of Esdras and Nehemias.

³ This later date for the canonization, so to speak, of the book of Josue seems to be

A second question, likewise suggested by the literary structure of Josue, and no less carefully examined than the foregoing by biblical scholars, concerns the relation which the data supplied by that sacred book regarding the Conquest of Western Palestine bear to those furnished by the opening chapters (i-ii, 5) of the book of Judges. The facts of the case are briefly these: It seems that the book of Josue records two different conceptions of the manner in which the Conquest of Chanaan was effected. One, described in the Deuteronomic and Priestly documents, represents the Conquest as completed, the inhabitants of Western Palestine as exterminated by Josue, and the consequent occupation of the territories by the tribes of Israel to which they were respectively allotted by this great military leader.¹ The other, embodied in the fragments of the Judaic document in the second part of the book of Josue, represents the same Conquest as gradual and partial.² Now it is remarkable that in Judges i-ii, 5, there is a series of notices bearing also witness to the fact that the Conquest of Chanaan was gradual, partial, and carried out, not by united Israel under the leadership of Josue, but by the individual efforts of the separate tribes. It thus appears that the opening chapters of Judges agree with the Judaic fragments of Josue in their conception of the manner in which Western Palestine came into Israel's possession. This conclusion is further confirmed by "their strong similarity of style, and in some cases even verbal identity,"³ with these same Judaic fragments, so that it can hardly be doubted that, together with

borne out by a careful comparison of its text in the original Hebrew and in the Septuagint Version (cfr. art. Joshua, in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. ii, p. 784; CARPENTER and BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, vol. ii, p. 318 sq.).

¹ Cfr. Josue x, 40-43; xi, 16-23; xxi, 43-45; xviii, 1; xiv, 1-5; etc.

² Cfr. Josue xiii, 13; xiv 6-15; xv, 14-19, 63; xvi, 10; etc.

³ DRIVER, *Introd. to the Literat. of the Old Test.*, p. 162 (6th edit.). See also G. A. SMITH, art. Joshua, in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. ii, p. 784 sq.; and G. F. MOORE, *Comm. on Judges* (in the *Internat. Critical Commentary Series*); etc.

them, they originally belonged to one and the same account of the Conquest of Chanaan. But as they seemed to contradict the other conception of the Conquest, which is clearly predominant in the book of Josue, it was transferred by the compiler to the days "after Josue's death" by the introductory clause in the book of Judges.¹ This ascription to the days "after Josue's death" of what would be a second and gradual conquest of Chanaan is probably incorrect. "We cannot conceive," says Prof. G. A. Smith,² "that Israel, having gained full possession of Western Palestine and exterminated the Chanaanites, was after Josue's death driven back upon Jericho,"³ and began a second series of campaigns which gradually restored the country to them. In itself this is impossible; and that the campaigns in Judges i happened in Josue's lifetime is implied not only by the account of his death which follows them in Judges ii, 8 sq., but proved by the fact that the same episodes (for inst., Hebron and Caleb, Dabir and Othniel) which are related in Judges i as happening after Josue's death, are in the book of Josue itself related as happening while he still directed the allotment of the territories.⁴ Omit Judges i, 1^a, and several other verses in the same chapter which are obvious insertions by an editor, . . . and what is left affords an account of the Conquest which is in harmony (as already said) with the older of the two conceptions contained in the book of Josue."⁵

3. Historical Character of the Book of Josue.

From this twofold conception of the Conquest recorded in

¹ Jos. i, 1.

² Art. Joshua, in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. ii, p. 784.

³ Cfr. Judges ii, 1 ; i, 16.

⁴ Cfr. Josue xv, 14-19 ; xiv, 14.

⁵ The lack of intimate connection of Judges i-ii, 5 with the rest of Judges is proved by the fact that Judges ii, 6-9 repeats Josue xxiv, 28, 31, 29, 30, and is the direct transition to the narrative of Judges.

the sacred writings of Israel, some Rationalists have inferred the non-historical character of the very substance of the inspired narrative. Bernhard Stade, for instance, has set forth the following theory: After Moses' death the children of Israel resided east of the Jordan for a very long time, during which they gradually passed from the nomadic to the agricultural stage, and increased much in numbers. Their limited territory having thus become insufficient for their needs, their separate tribes sought new homes west of the Jordan. The crossing of that river was not effected by them all united in a body, but at different intervals, clan by clan. Nor was it effected under Josue, who is but a legendary personage, a simple personification of Ephraim, one of the clans. This gradual migration had nothing warlike against the Chanaanite tribes much superior to the Israelites in numbers, civilization, military equipment, etc.; it was a peaceful one; and the land was secured in Western Palestine by purchase, or treaty, or marriage, not by war. Finally, the crossing was not effected at Jericho, for Eastern Palestine at that time belonged not to Israel, but to Moab; but rather north of that city, at the Jabboc River, where the Hebrew population was most dense.

It would be a long and tedious task to discuss in detail so artificial a theory. But as it has been more or less fully endorsed by other writers on Jewish history,¹ it is necessary briefly to state the reasons going to show that the great lines of the Conquest of Western Palestine must be considered as historical, even on the basis of the literary structure of the book of Josue as given above.²

¹ Cfr. H. OORT, *The Bible for Learners*, vol. i, p. 346 sqq. (Engl. Transl.); CHAS. F. KENT, *A History of the Hebrew People*, vol. i, p. 59 (New York, 1896); etc.

² We take this literary structure as the basis of our reasoning, because it is admitted by even such Rationalistic critics as Kuenen, Wellhausen, etc. For a vigorous polemic against it, see Abbé J. P. MARTIN, *Origine du Pentateuque*, tome 3, p. 567 sqq. (Paris, 1889).

The first reason is grounded on the fact that Josue contains documents much older not only than the date of its final redaction, but even than the Judaic narrative of the Conquest, which goes back at least to the 9th cent. B.C. Of this much older date is unquestionably the poetical fragment from the book of Yashar (the Just), which is quoted in the following manner: "Then Josue spoke to Yahweh . . . and said in presence of all Israel :

Sun, stand thou still upon Gabaon,
And thou, Moon, on the valley of Ajalon.
And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Till the people had taken vengeance of their enemies.

Is not this written in the book of Yashar?"¹ Of a much older date, likewise, are not unlikely some, at least, of the topographical lists found in the second part of the book of Josue, and so remarkable for their many and accurate references to drawing lines, to sides, shoulders, corners, edges, ravines, cliffs, ascents, fountains, etc., that they must have been borrowed from ancient documents. In point of fact, the list of the towns assigned to Simeon's children, in Josue xix, 2-8, is practically identical with that contained in I Chronicles iv, 28 sqq, the only important difference consisting in the addition to this latter list of the note: "These were their cities *unto the reign of David*."² Now, documents of this description clearly go back near enough to the events recorded, so as to contain a correct account at least of the great lines of the conquest and division of Palestine, and hence our book of Josue, which reproduces them, rests on solid historical grounds when it describes the conquest and division of Western Palestine to Israel under the leadership of Moses' successor in command.

¹ Josue x, 12, 13.

² I Chron. iv, 31.

In the second place, the positions assumed by B. Stade and others, when looked into a little closely, appear positively untenable. "The theory of a peaceful invasion," says excellently Prof. G. A. Smith,¹ "is contradicted no less by the general force of tradition than by the historic probabilities; while the national unity is certified to, not only by the earliest memories of the people (book of Judges, *passim*) and the unanimous voice of later tradition, but by the fact that the great cause and reason of such unity, the possession by the tribes of a common faith and a common shrine, had already been achieved by the labors of Moses." The later unity of Israel, accomplished among the separating influences of Western Palestine, geographical, social, religious, would not have been possible unless Israel had already been united before entering these. Nor do the accounts in the books of Josue and Judges relate, before the capture of Jericho, anything contradictory to the theory of such a unity; it is only from Jericho onwards that the Judaic document (J) describes the tribes as separately undertaking the conquest of their respective territories. Moreover, although J represents separate conquests after Jericho, it assumes, and even explicitly states, that these were preceded by a common understanding of how the work of conquest was to be divided and the territories assigned.² If we accept this evidence of J (as against D and P) that the conquest was achieved by separate tribes, we should surely receive its testimony that the direction and plan proceeded from a common centre, especially when the unity of Israel, at the time of crossing Jordan, is rendered

¹ Art. Joshua, in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. ii, p. 786. See also G. A. SMITH, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, Appendix ii, p. 659 sqq. (edit. 4th); Jas. F. McCURDY, History, Prophecy and the Monuments, vol. ii, p. 112 sq (New York, 1896); R. KITTEL, A History of the Hebrews, vol. i, p. 263 sqq. (Engl. Transl.); etc.

² Josue xv, 13; xvii, 14 sqq.; Judges i, 1.

so probable by the considerations quoted above." The fact of the conquest of Chanaan by the Hebrews can only be explained by a decisive movement by all the Hebrew clans to invade Western Palestine, and their actual leader was, according to all the sources of information in the book of Josue, and even of Judges (as made very probable by Prof Karl Budde), no other than Josue, the one great leader appointed by Moses.¹ Finally, the crossing of the Jordan at Jericho is in perfect harmony with the earliest traditions, and also with the usual tactics of many subsequent invaders of Chanaan from the eastern side of the Jordan, who many a time went even out of their way to capture Jericho, before venturing into the hill-country, so as to secure thereby a well-stocked and well-watered base for campaigns in the comparatively barren hills to the west of that city. It is by no means certain that in Josue's time Eastern Palestine opposite Jericho belonged to Moab, as affirmed by Stade; whereas it is well known that at a later date this was the case: but this is only a reason more against assigning to a late date the origin of the tradition that Israel crossed the Jordan at this place.²

In regard to the historical character of the various incidents connected with the conquest of Chanaan, as described in the book of Josue, the reader is referred to special Commentaries on that sacred book, such as BONFRÈRE, S.J., Dom CALMET, O.S.B., CLAIR, COOK or "The Speaker's Commentary," etc., and to such historical works as those of R. KITTEL, VIGOUROUX, Card. MEIGNAN, MCCURDY, etc.³

¹ For details, see the works just referred to.

² Cfr. G. A. SMITH, in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. ii, p. 787, and Historical Geography of the Holy Land, p. 661 sq. For a more detailed examination of those points, see R. KITTEL, loc. cit.

³ For more complete *bibliography*, see A. CAVE, Introduction to Theology and its Literature, second edit.; HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible, vol. ii, p. 788.

4. Religious Teaching of the Book of Josue. As the book of Josue is the direct continuation, historical and literary, of the preceding books, so is it also of their religious teaching. The dogmatic and moral truths it inculcates are chiefly taught in the narrative of the Conquest, which forms the first part of that sacred book, and in the farewell addresses of Josue, which form its conclusion. Jehovah, the God of Israel, is indeed "God."¹ He is "the Lord of the whole earth" (iii, 13), who, by His wonderful Providence over the people of His choice, makes them triumph over all obstacles, and distributes among them the land He had promised to their fathers. He wills to be served "with a perfect and most sincere heart" (xxiv, 14; xxii, 5); and to this perfect service of the Lord the children of Israel are most strictly bound through gratitude for His past benefits to their fathers and to themselves, and also through fear of Him who "is a holy God, and mighty and jealous, and will punish their wickedness and sins" (xxiv, 19 and preceding verses. See also iv, 25). Sacrifices must be offered to Him, but only in one place (viii, 30, 31; xxii, 19 sqq.), and the rite of circumcision is made binding on all Israel (v, 2). Among the moral truths directly inculcated or illustrated in the book of Josue we shall simply mention (1) the obligation of the oath taken by Israel after they had been deceived by the Gabaonites (ix, 15 sqq.); (2) the solidarity of a nation whose common enterprises may at times be wrecked by individual selfishness and avarice (vii); (3) the solemn duty of obedience to God's lawful representatives (i, 18), etc. Finally, the spirit pervading the whole book may be briefly described as one tending to impress all Israel with hatred of idolatry, with the sense of supernatural conduct and protection, and also with befitting reverence and faithfulness towards God.

¹ Jos. xxii, 34.

DIVISION II.

THE OTHER HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD
TESTAMENT.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER VII.

THE BOOKS OF JUDGES AND RUTH.

I. THE BOOK OF JUDGES:	{ 1. Title and Place in the Hebrew Bible.	
	{ 2. Contents:	{ 1. A Brief Account of the Conquests and Settlements of Israel in Chanaan (chap. i-ii, 5).
		{ 2. The History of Israel in the Days of the Judges (chap. ii, 6-xvi.)
		{ 3. Two Additional Incidents of the Times of the Judges (chap. xvii-xxi).
	{ 3. Unity, Authorship and Date.	

{ 4. Historical Value of the Book of Judges.	{ General Arguments in favor of it.
	{ Principal Difficulties urged against it.
	{ Probable Conclusions regarding it.

II. THE BOOK OF RUTH:	{ 1. Contents and Purposes:	{ How far a third Appendix to the Book of Judges?
		{ Its probable Objects pointed out.
	{ 2. Historical Character:	{ The Difficulties raised against it.
		{ The groundwork of the Narrative certainly historical.
	{ 3. Author and Date of Composition.	

DIVISION II.

THE OTHER HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BOOKS OF JUDGES AND RUTH.

§ I. *The Book of Judges.*

I. Its Title and Place in the Hebrew Bible. Like most historical writings of the Old Testament, the book of Judges derives its name, not from its author, but from the personages with which its narrative is chiefly concerned. Its title in the Hebrew Bible is simply *Soph^htim*,¹ rendered in our English Versions by *Judges*, a word which denotes primarily here not peaceful magistrates in charge of administering justice, but leaders and champions whose personal mission it was to free the Israelites from, and avenge them of, their oppressors.² The heading *Soph^htim*, *Judges*, was then most likely prefixed to the book so as to correspond to

¹ In the Septuagint the title of the book is *Kpῑrai*; in the list of the sacred books drawn up by the Council of Trent, *Judicum* (scil. *Liber*).

² The title of this book should remind us of one in charge of administering justice, only in so far as supreme judicial authority in the East belongs invariably to the one invested with the highest power in the land, and in so far as it is the office of a judge to free those who appeal to him from their oppressors, and to secure the punishment of these same oppressors. (For details in regard to this title, see the excellent Comm. on Judges, by G. F. MOORE [in the International Critical Commentary], p. xi sqq.)

that of the books of Kings, and with a reference to the series of Israelite defenders and rulers before the introduction of hereditary monarchs among the chosen people.

In the Hebrew Text the book of Judges is the second of the "Earlier Prophets," or Prophetic Histories (Josue, Judges, Samuel, Kings), which cover the period of the history of Israel from the invasion of Western Palestine to the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple, in 586 B.C. In the Septuagint, Vulgate, and modern Versions it does not stand immediately before the books of Samuel, but is separated from them by the book of Ruth.

2. Its Contents. The book of Judges consists of three well-defined parts: (1) an Introduction which gives a brief account of the Conquests and Settlements of Israel in Chanaan (i-ii, 5);¹ (2) the Body of the book, comprising the history of Israel from the death of Josue to the birth of Samuel (ii, 6-xvi); (3) an Appendix, recording two additional incidents of the times of the Judges (xvii-xxi).

The Introductory part sets forth briefly the invasion of the interior of Western Palestine by the individual efforts of the separate tribes, mentions their partial failure in securing possession of their inheritance, together with a divine rebuke for their disobedience in making peace with the Chanaanites.

The second part (ii, 6-xvi), which forms the history of the Judges properly so called, takes up the narrative at the point which had been reached in Josue xxiv, 27, as is proved by the fact that Judges ii, 6-10 is identical with Josue xxiv, 28, 31, 29, 30.² This last verse, found in both Josue xxiv, 30 and Judges ii, 10, speaks of the change of national mind

¹ The different extent (i-iii, 6) assigned to this Introductory part by KEIL, and after him by VIGOUROUX, CORNELY, FILLION, JAS. ROBERTSON, etc., is less satisfactory than the one we have adopted after DE WETTE, DRIVER, MOORE, BENNETT, Abbé CLAIR, etc.

² A similar fact occurs in connection with I Esdras, i, 1-3^a, which repeats II Paralipomenon, xxxvi, 22, 23. Cfr., among others, Abbé CLAIR, *Les Juges et Ruth*, p. 38 (Lethielleux' Bible, Paris, 1880).

concerning God after the death of Josue, and serves to introduce the religious interpretation and judgment of the whole period of the Judges as a recurring cycle of defection from Yahweh, subjugation by remaining nations which God—either for the sins of His people, or as a test of its fidelity—left unsubdued, and signal deliverance by means of the Judges or divinely raised saviours of Israel (ii, 11–iii, 6). The history of twelve Judges is then told (iii, 7–xvi). In regard to six of them, oftentimes called the *Minor Judges*, the narrative is very brief, as is shown by the following short scheme:

Samgar.....iii, 31	Abesan.....xii, 8–10
Thola.....x, 1, 2	Ahialon.....xii, 11–12
Jair.....x, 3–5	Abdon.....xii, 13–15

The history of the six others, called the *Greater Judges* because the narrative concerning them is more detailed, is presented in a manner which corresponds to the recurring cycle set forth in general terms in Judges ii, 11–19. This may be easily seen by means of the following scheme :

Judgeship of	Israel's unfaithfulness:	Oppression by :	Rule of the Judge.	Concluding Formula.
Othniel (iii, 7–11).	iii, 7, 8 ^a .	{ Chusan Rasathaim } (8 years).	iii, 9, 10 ^b .	iii, 11.
Aod (iii, 12–30).	iii, 12 ^a .	Eglon (18 years).	iii, 15–29.	iii, 30.
Barac (iv–v, 32).	iv, 1.	Jaban (20 years).	iv, 6–24.	v, 32.
Gedeon (vi viii, 28).	vi, 1.	Madian (7 years).	vi, 11–viii, 28 ^a .	viii, 28 ^b .
Jeplite (x, 6–xii, 7).	x, 6 sqq.	{ Philistines and Am- } { monites (18 years) }	xi–xii, 6.	xii, 7.
Samson (xiii xvi).	xiii, 1.	Philistines, 40 years.	xiii, 25–xvi, 30.	xvi, 31.

The third part, clearly an Appendix to the book of Judges, contains two continuous narratives of incidents belonging to the time of the Judges. The first (xvii–xviii) tells of the migration of the Danites and the establishment of the sanctuary at Dan. The second (xix–xxi) is an account of an outrage committed upon a traveller by the Benjamites of Gabaa, and of the consequent war of exter-

mination waged against Benjamin by the other tribes of Israel.

3. Its Unity, Authorship and Date. Whoever is satisfied with such a general survey of the contents of the book of Judges as has just been made will easily recognize that they are arranged according to one and the same general plan. The Introduction (i-ii, 5), giving a picture of the state of the country some time before the period of the Judges, connects itself naturally with the body of the book, which narrates the events of that very period. The second part, or body of the book, opens with a distinct statement which sets forth its great purpose, viz., to illustrate by facts the truth that Israel's unfaithfulness to God entails national punishment, and its return to faithfulness return also to national freedom and prosperity (ii, 11-19). The "thesis"¹ thus stated is constantly borne in mind through this second part of the book, as proved by the set formulas² which are the regular framework of the respective narratives concerning the Greater Judges,³ and which impart unity to the whole series of them. Finally, the Appendix itself is not an unnatural complement of the history of Israel in the days of the Judges which is told in the second part of the book.

¹ VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 447.

² The principal stereotyped phrases are the following:

"The children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord" (iii, 7, 12; iv, 1; vi, 1; x, 6; xiii, 1).

"The Lord sold them into the hand of" the oppressor for the time whom (iii, 8; iv, 2; vi, 1^b; x, 7; xiii, 16).

"They served" for so many years (iii, 8, 14; vi, 1^b; x, 8; xiii, 1^b).

"They cried to the Lord, who raised them up a deliverer" in the person of the judge whose deeds are then recorded (iii, 9, 15; iv, 3; vi, 7; x, 10).

This deliverer "judged Israel" so many years (iii, 10; xii, 7; xvi, 31).

And, finally, "the land rested" for a certain round number of years (iii, 11, 30^b; v, 3¹; viii, 28^b; xii, 7; xv, 20).

³ Much mutual similarity of literary form may also be easily noticed in regard to the short account of the Minor Judges (cfr. iii, 31; x, 1, 2; x, 3, 5; xii, 8, 10, 11, 12; xiii, 13, 15).

This general unity of the book of Judges does not exclude absolutely its compilatory character, any more than the general unity of Genesis disproves its character as a compilation. The principal grounds usually set forth at the present day¹ to show that more than one writer had a hand in its composition are briefly as follows: (1) a close comparison as regards style, representation, etc., between the opening chapter of Judges, and fragmentary notices imbedded in Josue concerning the conquests of the separate tribes in Western Palestine, shows that both the one and the other consist of excerpts from what was once a detailed survey of the conquest of Chanaan;² (2) the set formulas noticed above in connection with the rule of the Greater Judges bespeak the hand of one who, having before him a series of independent narratives, fitted them into their present framework; (3) as some of the narratives contained in the body of the book (for example, that concerning Abimelech in chap. ix) are not adapted to illustrate the general thesis regarding the period of the Judges, as set forth in ii, 11-19, it seems even probable that the compiler who set in a new framework was not the first to arrange together the separate histories of the Judges, but used as the basis of his work a continuous narrative which he had at his disposal; (4) the two narratives in the Appendix "are less closely connected than even the Introduction (i-ii, 5) with the body of the book, and on that account can more readily be admitted to have been added to it by a later writer";³ and considerable differences in style, representation, etc., between them and chaps. ii, 6-xvi have led scholars

¹ For the unsatisfactory grounds appealed to by some Catholic scholars of old for a similar view, cfr. CORNELY, *Introductio Specialis*, vol. ii, part i, p. 214 sq. etc.

² For conclusive proofs of this, cfr. DRIVER, *Introduct. to the Literat. of the Old Test.*, p. 162 sq.; MOORE, *Comm. on Judges*; etc.

³ CORNELY, *Introduct. Specialis*, vol. i, part i, p. 216. See also Abbé H. LESÈTRE, *Introduction à l'Etude de l'Ecriture Sainte*, vol. ii, p. 212 (Paris, 1890).

generally to consider their later addition as an actual fact; ¹ (5) finally, the duplicate accounts more or less fully harmonized which may be pointed out in the histories of Gedeon (vi-viii) and Debbora and Barac (iv), and in the second additional narrative included in the Appendix (particularly chaps. xx, xxi).²

We shall not enter into a detailed examination of the many difficult questions naturally suggested to one who, after having recognized these different materials as apparently coming from different hands, endeavors to realize the manner in which they were gradually put together and finally arranged into our present book of Judges. The main results at which leading contemporary scholars have arrived in this regard may be thus stated:³ At the basis of the book of Judges lie olden traditions of the invasion and settlement of Chanaan, as also of the subsequent conflicts in various parts of Western Palestine, and of the heroic deeds of Israelite leaders and champions in these struggles. These old traditions when consigned to writing as a part of the prophetic narratives J E, portions of which are the groundwork of the Hexateuch, supplied a history extending from the death of Josue to the great discourse of Samuel in I Sam. xii, which is the natural close of the whole history of the Judges. This "book of Judges," for it can be truly called by that name, was later on utilized by a writer belonging to the Deuteronomic school, who edited part of it (apparently only ii, 6-xvi, which alone bears distinct traces of Deuteronomic influence) with a view to prove his general thesis in ii, 11-19, which is also the great thesis of the book of

¹ For details, cfr. DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 168 sqq.; MOORE, *Comm. on Judges*; Samuel DAVIDSON, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. i, p. 463 sqq.; etc.

² Cfr. DRIVER and MOORE, *loc. cit.*

³ Cfr. chiefly, MOORE, *loc. cit.*, pp. xxxiii-xxxv; and art. Judges (book) in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; BENNETT and ADENEY, *Biblical Introduction*, p. 82 sq.; DRIVER; etc.

Deuteronomy. At a much later date still, this Deuteronomic book of Judges was combined by an editor with the older or Pre-Deuteronomic work in such a way as to produce practically our present book of Judges.

Whatever may be thought of the scientific value of this theory regarding the compilation of the book of Judges,—and to many minds unquestionable literary facts render this value very great,—it is beyond doubt that in its substance the theory itself does not clash with what Catholics are bound to believe concerning the inspiration of Holy Scripture. “We have no reason to be surprised,” writes excellently, in this connection, Card. Newman,¹ “nor is it against the faith to hold, that a canonical book may be composed not only from, but even of, pre-existing documents, it being always borne in mind, as a necessary condition, that an inspired mind has exercised a supreme and an ultimate judgment on the work, determining what was to be selected and embodied in it, in order to its truth . . . and its unadulterated truth. . . .

“This being considered, it follows that a book may be, and may be accepted as, inspired, though not a word of it is an original document”; etc.²

It is true that if we should, as many Catholic scholars still do,³ receive the ancient Jewish tradition embodied in the ‘Talmud,’⁴ which makes Samuel the author of the book of Judges, the compilation theory we have summed up above should be dismissed. But such tradition cannot be relied upon any more in connection with the authorship of Judges

¹ On the Inspiration of Scripture, in “The Nineteenth Century,” February 1884, p. 195.

² Of the actual inspiration of such a last editor, we are made absolutely sure by the divine and consequently infallible authority of the living Church, “the ground and pillar of the truth” (I Tim. iii, 15). Cfr. General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, by the present writer, chap. xxi.

³ For instance, KAULEN, CLAIR, VIGOUROUX, CORNELY, LESÊTRE, etc.

⁴ Treatise *Baba batra*, fol. 14^b, 15^a.

than in regard to that of the Pentateuch. The Jews were ever very prone to magnify the great man of a period, by ascribing to him, however improbable this might otherwise be, the authorship of the whole book which records the history of that same period, or embodies some things (such as laws, institutions, poetry, etc.) which are truly referable to him. In the present instance, the general unity recognizable in the book of Judges and clearly due to its author or general editor, when taken together with passages later than Samuel's time, has seemed to many a sufficient reason to regard the Talmudic tradition as unsound. While the book has no explicit reference to its author, it contains "the recurring statement in the closing chapters (xvii, 6; xviii, 1; xviii, 31 in the Vulgate [xix, 1 in the Hebrew]; xxi, 24 in the Vulgate [xxi, 25 in the Heb.]), 'In those days there was no king in Israel,' from which it is only natural to infer that these portions, and the related Introduction, which regards the period of the Judges as a completed whole, were written in the time of the monarchy, by one who wished to magnify the kingly office, or, at least, that they come from a writer who wished to show the superiority of the regal period over a time when 'every one did that which seemed right to himself' (Judges xvii, 6; xxi, 24)."¹ The obvious meaning of the expression "until the captivity of the land,"² in Judges xviii, 30, refers to a true exile, either to the exile of the ten tribes in 721 B.C., or, at least, to that of the Northern tribes in 734:³ in either case to a period later than Samuel's time.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that some Catholic scholars of past ages,⁴ setting aside the Jewish tradition,

¹ Prof. Jas. ROBERTSON, in *Book by Book*, vol. i, p. 71 (London, 1896).

² As we correctly read in the Hebrew and in the Septuagint.

³ IV Kings xv, 29.

⁴ Cfr. HERBST, *Einleitung*, p. 121; DRIVER, *Introd.*, p. 168, note 2.

have ascribed our book of Judges to a much later date than Samuel's time. Masius and Richard Simon have named as its author Esdras; Card. Hugo, Ezechias; while others have simply ascribed its authorship to an unknown writer contemporary with Solomon or David. Modern interpreters of the book are likewise at variance on several points regarding its authorship and date.¹ Perhaps its final compilation by an unknown editor is to be brought down as late as the 5th or even the 4th cent. B.C., that is a comparatively short time before it was inscribed, together with the book of Josue, in the "Prophets" or Second Canon of the Hebrew Bible.

4. Historical Value of the Book of Judges. It may be truly said that among the historical books of the Old Testament there are few, if any, the general historical value of which is more readily granted by critics of our day than that of the book of Judges. The leading reasons of this can be easily pointed out. It is plain, first of all, that the general picture it supplies of the period between Josue and Samuel is true to the condition, political, social, moral and religious, of the Israelites immediately after their partial conquest of Western Palestine.² In the second place, the accounts of the deeds of the Greater Judges, with "their fragments of poetry, parables and proverbs, references to common customs, and the graphic manner in which the various characters are depicted and their actions described—the deed itself being more prominent than its moral character—are all characteristic of early national literature."³ It is likewise manifest that the traditions contained in the body of the book with their sim-

¹ Cfr. chiefly Ed. KÖNIG, art. Judges (book of), in HASTINGS, Dict of the Bible.

² For details, see "Outlines of Jewish History," by the present writer, p. 148 sqq. See also JAHN, Introd. to the Old Test., p. 239 (Engl. Transl.).

³ Jas. ROBERTSON, loc. cit., p. 72.

plicity of style, minute accuracy of topographical detail, the variety of incident, and, above all, the absence of any attempt to conceal or palliate the failings of the Israelite judges, give the impression that we have before us, not fabulous or mythical tales, but true narratives fixed in writing before the momentous changes wrought by the establishment of the monarchy had had time to make the state of things described in Judges unintelligible or unsympathetic.¹ The historical value of the book of Judges is also enhanced by the consideration that in the course of its compilation the meagre accounts of the Minor Judges ever remained without any legendary embellishment, for this proves that the writer did not aim at amplification or invention, but simply at recounting or transmitting the facts he drew from his sources of information.²

Despite these general considerations—the force of which is so manifest in favor of the general historical value of the book of Judges that Samuel Davidson, a Protestant critic whose rationalistic tendencies are well known, has felt bound to confess: “There is no room for doubting that the historical traditions of the nation, written and oral, but chiefly the former, are faithfully given”³—some Rationalists, such as Oort, Wellhausen, and Reuss, have done their utmost to show that the canonical book of Judges is worthy of very little credence. For this purpose they have endeavored to establish the following positions: The most obvious features of the book, to wit, its continuous chronology, and its religious connection of the events, must be ascribed to its latest revision by an author who, living many centuries after the events narrated, has shaped them accord-

¹ Cfr. Jas. ROBERTSON, *ibid.*, and MOORE, in *Encycl. Biblica*, art. Judges (book), col. 2641.

² This is also true in connection with the very brief account of Othoniel, the first of the Greater Judges, in chap. iii. 7-11.

³ *Introduct. to the Old Test.*, vol. i, p. 469 (London, 1862).

ing to the conceptions of his own time, and therefore has made many glaring anachronisms. Thus, contrary to the representations embodied in the documents before him, (1) he has included in the systematic scheme of a continuous chronology—not unlike that of the kings of Juda and Israel—the disconnected judgeships of that very remote period in Hebrew history; (2) he has pictured Jehovah and Israel as two distinct units moving mechanically in the recurring cycle of rebellion, affliction, conversion and peace, a conception which is foreign to the actual life of any nation, and is no part of the original contents of the tradition; (3) he has represented the Judges as exerting their influence over very extensive areas of territory, whereas his documents speak of them as heroes simply at the head of individual tribes; (4) he has described the attitude of the ancient Hebrews toward Jehovah as an “alternating seesaw of absolute peace and affliction, as a descent from the splendid times of Moses and Josue, whereas failure and success really alternated according to natural circumstances, and the period of the Judges was, taken on the whole, “an ascent upward to the monarchy.”

Going a step further back from the last revision of the book, the same Rationalistic critics claim that they meet with an earlier effort in the same direction, though less systematically worked out, and recognizable in certain supplements and additions which have here and there been patched on to the original narratives. Some of these alterations, we are told, “originated partly in the difficulty felt by a later age in sympathizing with the religious usages and ideas of older times,” and we are referred to the history of Gedeon for two samples of the kind (vi, 25-32; viii, 22 sqq.).

Finally, they think it possible to trace even in the original narratives themselves—in chaps. iv and v, in chap. viii, etc.

—certain differences of religious attitude which indicate that tendency in the development of the tradition which reached its end in the revision and ornamentation of later revisions. This is plainer, they affirm, in the case of those narratives which have come down to us in double form, the difference of standpoint of which is unmistakable; but it may also be perceived in cases where we have no direct parallels to compare, for instance, in connection with the history of Abimelech when contrasted with that of Jephthe.¹

From all this—as also from their strong dogmatic bias more or less explicitly stated against the miraculous element in Holy Writ—the Rationalists named above have inferred that the book of Judges has undergone such “comprehensive revision” as to deprive its contents of practically all their historical value.

It is not our purpose to enter here into all the technical details which a complete examination of these positions would require to vindicate fully the trustworthiness of the book of Judges.² We shall simply make a few remarks going to show some of their weak points, and embodying the probable conclusions reached by most careful scholars concerning the main question at issue, viz., the historical value of our canonical book of Judges. First of all, as we have stated elsewhere,³ and as will be readily admitted by every one familiar with the difficulties which surround the chronology of the period of the Judges, it is not certain that this chronology must be considered as continuous; still less certain is it that it is as systematic and independent of documentary figures for the length of the oppressions and

¹ For details, cfr. J. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 228–245 (Engl. Transl., Edinburgh, 1885).

² For a complete and searching criticism of those Rationalistic positions, see the valuable work of Abbé J. P. MARTIN, *de l'Origine du Pentateuque* (Paris, 1886–1889).

³ “Outlines of Jewish History,” p. 146 sq.

judgeships as is affirmed by certain critics.¹ Yea, more: even though we should grant that such an artificial chronology exists in Judges, as it is clearly and exclusively found in the framework which is distinct from the narratives of the deeds of the Judges, its artificial character should not be extended to the narratives themselves.

In the second place, it is likewise clear that the other anachronisms ascribed to the latest revision of the book of Judges, such as the representation of Israel as a social unit, of the territorial rule of the respective Judges as universal in its extent, of Israel's attitude toward Jehovah as "an alternating seesaw of absolute peace and affliction," even when admitted as real anachronisms, can interfere materially with the historical value of our canonical book of Judges only in so far as Rationalists greatly exaggerate the importance of their bearing on the substantial accuracy of the narrative.² All such anachronisms are either confined to the framework encircling the narratives of the deeds of the Judges, or, if mingled with them, can be easily disengaged from them, seeing that, as admitted by Rationalists, the narratives themselves were allowed by the latest reviser to retain so much of an older delineation of the various judgeships as to enable us even at the present day easily to picture to ourselves the true condition of Israel's life, social, political, religious, etc., which prevailed through the period which preceded immediately the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy. As a matter of fact, most recent scholars, independent of rationalistic bias and thoroughly familiar with the compilatory process through which the book of Judges has passed, do not hesitate to freely utilize its contents as most solid materials for the history of that

¹ Cfr. LESÈTRE, MARTIN, MOORE, etc., loc. cit. ; and art. Chronology in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, and in CHEYNE-BLACK, Encyclopædia Biblica.

² Cfr. MARTIN, loc. cit., vol. ii, p. 182 sqq.

period,¹ or to explicitly admit their great historical value.²

In the third place, even Rationalists grant that the work of revision anterior to the last one undergone by the narratives of Judges has not been so systematic and thorough as the final one, so that it is only natural to admit that the historical data embodied in our canonical book of Judges and going back to an earlier stage have truly come down to us with their primitive character. In this connection, so able and thorough a scholar as Prof. Moore has very lately written these significant words: "It is manifest that the traditions contained in it (in the book of Judges) were fixed in writing before the momentous changes which the kingdom wrought had had time to make such a state of things as is represented in Judges unintelligible or unsympathetic."³

Fourthly, when this general historical value of our canonical book of Judges has been explicitly recognized, even Catholic scholars, of such conservative frame of mind as Abbé Martin, Card. Meignan, etc., feel obliged to grant that its historical character should not be understood as entailing necessarily the actual happening of all the details apparently stated as facts in the sacred narrative. The former tells us that he would not lay his life upon the truth of all the details contained in those individual books

¹ See, for instance, the "History of the Hebrew People," by Prof. Chas. Foster KENT (New York, 1896); the "History of the People of Israel," by Karl Heinrich CORNILL (Chicago, 1899, Engl. Transl.); etc.

² This is the case, for instance, with Prof. G. F. MOORE, who writes in his art. Judges (book of) in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (New York, 1901), the following remarkable words: "When all this (i.e. all this work of later revision) is recognized, it remains true that the picture which the book gives us of the social and religious conditions of the period which preceded the establishment of the kingdom is of the highest historical value." See also the art. Judges (book of) in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, written by Prof. Eduard KÜNIC.

³ Art. Judges (book of) in CHEYNE-BLACK, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. ii col 2641.

(Judges, Samuel, and Kings);¹ while the latter admits, in connection with certain details in the history of Samson, that "poetical features and popular traditions have left their distinct impress upon the text."²

Lastly, if we do not mistake, it is particularly in reference to a sacred writing, such as our canonical book of Judges, that Prof. Schanz has thought it necessary to say: "When the sacred writers do not claim to write history or to write it as demanded by modern criticism, they cannot be accused of error, if the representation does not correspond to the standard of severely historical science";³ and again: "We have not the remotest intention of saying that the inspired writers have erred, or were liable to err, in things unimportant and accidental; but only that in such matters as profane science and profane history they leave the responsibility of borrowed statements to the sources whence they drew them, or that they followed a common and well-recognized way of thinking and speaking."⁴ At any rate, the book of Judges is unquestionably one of those inspired writings in connection with which, as we have stated elsewhere,⁵ a growing number of Catholic scholars of our day willingly recognize the use of antique methods of literary composition whereby the latest editor accommodated himself to the manner in which historical matters were dealt with in his time. The compiling of traditions or documents was in vogue in his day, without refer-

¹ Here are the very words of Father Martin: "Nous ne voudrions pas donner notre tête à couper pour garantir la vérité de tout ce qui est dans ces livres pris isolément, mais nous n'admettons pas non plus qu'on puisse rejeter leur témoignage sans raison et sans de bonnes raisons" (De l'Origine du Pentateuque, vol. ii, p. 198).

² De Moïse à David, p. 433. In page 401 of the same work the learned Cardinal writes: "Selon de nombreux critiques, l'histoire de leurs incursions a été puisée à des récits versifiés, à des cantilènes, archives de ces vieux temps."

³ P. SCHANZ, in the Theol. Quart.-Schrift, for 1895, p. 188.

⁴ A Christian Apology, vol. ii, p. 434 (Engl. Transl.).

⁵ Cfr. "General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," p. 557 (New York, 1900), and "Biblical Lectures," p. 37 sqq. (Baltimore, 1901).

ence to the objective truth of these sources of information, and in consequence we find such traditions or documents with their variations, or other more or less strictly historical features, simply embodied in the sacred record.¹ It should be borne in mind, finally, that the special difficulties suggested in some passages by our present text of the book of Judges may be done away with by simply appealing to the defective manner in which it has been transcribed in the course of ages.²

For a detailed study of the difficulties connected with the respective Judgeships, cfr. particularly Abbé MARTIN, de l'Origine du Pentateuque; CLAIR, les Juges et Ruth; Von HUMMELAUER, S.J., In libr. Judicum et Ruth; Card. MEIGNAN, de Moïse à David, Livre quatrième, p. 363 sqq.; G. F. MOORE, Comm. on Judges; VIGOUROUX, Bible et Découvertes Modernes, vol. iii; Manuel Biblique, vol. ii; etc.

§ 2. *The Book of Ruth.*

1. Its Contents and Purpose. The contents of the book of Ruth, which is designated by Goethe as "the loveliest little epic and idyllic whole which has come down to us," are briefly as follows: A famine having arisen in the land of Israel at a period given as "the days when the Judges ruled,"³ Elimelech with Noemi and their two sons emigrated from Bethlehem of Juda to the land of Moab, where shortly after he died. His two sons, Mahalon and Chelion, married Moabite wives, and two years afterwards both of them died without children. Noemi, deprived now of her husband and children, returned to Bethlehem, together with Ruth, one of her daughters-in-law, who could

¹ For valuable general remarks to the same effect, see R. L. OTTLEY, Aspects of the Old Testament, p. 102 sqq.

² Cfr. MARTIN, loc. cit., vol. i, p. 277 sq.; MOORE, Comm. on Judges; etc.

³ Ruth, i, 1.

not be dissuaded from accompanying her. In the time of the barley-harvest Ruth availed herself of the permission granted by the Mosaic law, and went to glean in the field of Booz, a rich man of the place. The kind reception she met with induced her, at the advice of Noemi, to make known to him, as the kinsman of Elimelech, her claim of marriage by the right of the next of kin. After a nearer kinsman had solemnly renounced his right Booz married Ruth, and she became the mother of Obed, the grandfather of David. The book closes with a brief genealogy (iv, 18-22), tracing the line of David through Booz to Phares, son of Juda.

Such are the contents of this short story which follows the book of Judges in the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the English Versions, while in the Hebrew Bible it is reckoned as one of the M^gilloth or Festal Rolls among the Hagiographa or third Canon of the Old Testament. It is indeed difficult, at the present day, to define which of these two places should be considered as the original one.¹ It seems more probable, however, that the place assigned to it in the Septuagint (the order of which has been followed by the other translations) is not original, because it can be easily accounted for by a systematic arrangement of the historical books of the Old Covenant, according to the respective periods of which they treat. As the story of Ruth is connected with the period of the Judges by its opening words: "In the days when the Judges ruled," its narrative was made to follow in the Septuagint the book of Judges as a sort of complement or appendix to it. In fact, several contemporary scholars continue to look upon the book of Ruth as a third appendix² to that of Judges. Yet its dif-

¹ Cfr. art. Ruth (book of) in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by W. R. SMITH.

² These scholars consider the two additional narratives which are found at the end of the book of Judges as practically two appendices to that book.

ferences from this latter book, in respect of style,¹ tone, subject, etc., go far toward disproving the idea that Ruth is a mere appendix to the book which it now follows in our Versions of Holy Writ. "That the book of Ruth," says well W. R. Smith² in this connection, "did not originally form part of the series of the 'Earlier Prophets' (Judges-Kings) is probable from the fact that it is quite untouched by the process of 'prophetic' or 'Deuteronomistic' editing, which gave that series its present shape at a time soon after the fall of the kingdom of Juda; the narrative has no affinity with the point of view which looks on the whole history of Israel as a series of examples of divine justice and mercy in the successive rebellions and repentances of the people of God."

As regards the special aim of the book of Ruth, scholars are greatly at variance. According to many³ who lay special stress on the genealogy of David at the close of the book, the object of the author is plainly to throw light upon the origin of David, the great king of Israel, whose genealogy is not given in the prophetic histories (Josue-Kings). Against this it may be said that if such had been the main purpose of the author, he would most likely have brought it out more prominently in his work. But, more particularly, the genealogy itself is borrowed from I Paralip. ii, 5 sqq.; for while it is found there in the manner of other genealogies in the same book, it was clearly added by a later hand to that of Ruth, since the author of the latter book recognizes that Obed was legally the son of Mahalon, not of Booz (iv, 5, 10), so that, from his standpoint, the appended genealogy is hardly correct.⁴

¹ Cfr. VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, § 460; MOORE, *Comm. on Judges*, p. xxxii.

² Art. Ruth, in *Encyclop. Britannica* (9th edit.).

³ Samuel Davidson, Vigouroux, Pelt, etc.

⁴ Cfr. W. R. SMITH, *loc. cit.*: see also Card MEIGNAN, *loc. cit.*, p. 399 sq.

According to others,¹ and indeed with greater probability, the principal aim of the book is to show how, in apparent opposition to Deuter. xxiii, 3, Ruth, though a native of Moab, obtained an honorable position among Jehovah's people, and became the ancestor of the founder of the Hebrew monarchy.² This second opinion has in its favor the tradition well known in Israel that David had some blood connection with Moab,³ and also, at least to a large extent, the general drift of the contents of the book of Ruth. This, however, has not prevented many recent scholars from assigning other objects to that short story. It has been supposed, for instance, that it was written to enforce the obligation to marry a kinsman's widow, owing to the prominence given to this topic in Ruth iii-iv; while others have regarded the whole book as a kind of protest against Nehemias' and Esdras' efforts to suppress intermarriage with women of foreign birth.⁴ Others, finally, have simply thought that the author had for its chief motive that of telling a charming and edifying story, "meaning it to be an example to his own age, as well as an interesting sketch of the past, and effecting this simply by describing the exemplary conduct of Noemi, Ruth, Booz, and even Booz's harvesters: all these act as simple, kindly, God-fearing people ought to act in Israel."⁵

2. Its Historical Character. Some of the objects thus put forth as the chief aim of the book of Ruth clearly imply in the mind of the critics who have admitted them that this charming book should not be considered as historical. In point of fact, these scholars oftentimes speak of it

¹ KEIL, DRIVER, etc.

² Cfr. Ruth i, 16^b; ii, 12^b; iv, 17.

³ This seems to be implied in the statement found in I Sam. xxii, 3, 4.

⁴ Cfr. Nehemias xiii, 23-29; Esdras ix-x.

⁵ W. Rob. SMITH, loc. cit.; W. H. BENNETT, *A Primer of the Bible*, p. 99; etc.

as a "poetical fiction," an "idyll," etc.,¹ and they usually set forth the following grounds for considering it as a fictitious narrative: (1) the symbolical character of most of the names of persons, such as Noemi (*my pleasantness*); Mahalon (*Sickness*) and Chelion (*Vanishing*), the early lost sons of Elimelech; etc.; (2) the words placed on the lips of the personages spoken of in the narrative (of Ruth, in i, 17; of Booz, in ii, 11 sq.; of the people who were in the gate, in iv, 11 sq.; etc.), which seem so well adapted to the general purpose of edification apparent in the book that they can hardly be considered as the words actually uttered by those personages; (3) the transparent simplicity, wonderful repose and purity of the characters delineated, which contrast so much with the general tone of roughness and barbarity of that period of the Judges with which the book of Ruth is connected by its opening words. "Debbora, Jael, and Jephthé's daughter," writes Prof. Briggs in this connection, "were the appropriate heroines of that period. They are the striking figures of a rude and warlike age. But Ruth seems altogether out of place in such rough times. No historian would ever think of writing such a domestic story as Ruth as an episode in the history of such a period."²

Of course, these difficulties have met with pertinent answers. To the first one it has been justly opposed that "though the names in the book, as a whole, are significant, this is not an absolute proof that they have been accommodated to the characters in the narrative; for the names of the ancient Hebrews are very frequently significant; and it is precisely the name of the principal person, Ruth, which has no signification corresponding to her character."³ To

¹ See Friedrich BLEEK, *Introd. to the Old Test.*

² *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 343 (New York, 1899).

³ Karl Friedrich KEIL, *Manual of Introduction to the Old Test.*, vol. ii, p. 43 (Engl. Transl.); cfr. Lesêtre, Cornely, etc.

the second difficulty it has been replied that even though we should admit that the expressions placed on the lips of the personages in the book of Ruth are not the very words they uttered, this should not induce us all at once to reject the historical character of the narrative, if it be otherwise solidly established; for a similar fact is observable not only in other historical books of the Old Covenant, but even in the discourses of Christ reported in the Gospels. In opposition to the third difficulty, it is usually said that the beautiful scenes of domestic and social life connected in the book of Ruth with the period of the Judges may have truly occurred during the long intervals of peace which, as we are told in the book of Judges, repeatedly occurred during the course of that period of Jewish history.

Whatever may be thought of the exact value of these answers, it is beyond doubt that even those critics who regard them as inadequate feel that the groundwork of the narrative is not purely fictitious.¹ "The book records," says Chas. H. H. Wright, "the intermarriage of an Israelite with a Moabite, which is sufficient to show that it is historical, and does not belong to the region of the poetical. . . . The historical character of the story is also confirmed by the friendly intercourse recorded between David and the king of Moab in I Samuel xxii, 3, 4."² And in about the same strain Prof. Driver writes: "The basis of the narrative consists, it may reasonably be supposed, of the family traditions respecting Ruth and her marriage with Booz. These have been cast into a literary form by the author, who has, no doubt, to a certain extent, idealized both the characters and the scenes. Distance seems to have meliorated the rude, unsettled age of the Judges. The narrator

¹ Cfr. BRIGGS, loc. cit., p. 344; KAUTZSCH, *Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Test.*, p. 129; W. H. BENNETT, *Biblical Introd.*, p. 89; etc.

² Chas. H. H. WRIGHT, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, p. 126.

manifestly takes delight in the graceful and attractive details of his picture. His principal characters are amiable, God-fearing, courteous, unassuming; and all in different ways show how a religious spirit may be carried unostentatiously into the conduct of daily life."¹

3. Its Author and Date of Composition. The book of Ruth, like most of the historical writings of Israel, is anonymous, the person whose name it bears being that, not of its author, but of the chief actor in the events narrated. The name of the author is unknown, though that of Samuel or of Ezechias has been at times, "but without proof,"² put forward in this connection.

The precise date to which the book of Ruth should be referred is likewise unknown,³ the data afforded by careful study of its contents and style being not only indecisive, but apparently conflicting. Most modern scholars consider it as a post-exilic work, their chief grounds being (1) that the custom of marriage with a near kinsman is alluded to in iv, 7, as obsolete, and described according to popular recollection, and not in terms of the law in Deuteronomy; (2) that the language contains Aramaisms and other late expressions; (3) that the position of the book in the Hagiographa points in that direction. Other critics,⁴ however, think that the book was composed before the Exile, for the following reasons: (1) the style shows no such marks of deterioration as are found in Esther, Chronicles, etc., but stands on a level with the best parts of the books of Samuel; and the Aramaisms may be accounted for by the use of a spoken patois, except in iv, 7, which is regarded by

¹ *Introd. to the Literat. of the Old Test.*, p. 456 (New York, 1897).

² VIGOUROUX, *Man. Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 461, who follows in this, as in many other things, KARL F. KELL, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. ii, p. 46 (Engl. Transl.).

³ VIGOUROUX, *ibid.*

⁴ Among others, we may mention, beside most Catholic writers, DRIVER, CHAS. H. H. WRIGHT, etc.

those critics as a gloss; (2) the differences from Deuteronomy (xxiii, 3) show that the latter was not in existence, and that therefore our book is earlier than about B.C. 621; (3) the book must have been written before the Exile, for it records, apparently with approval, the marriage of an Israelite with a Moabite, a fact which would not have been regarded as creditable to a pious Israelite after the Captivity. Finally, the view advocated by Prof. Edward König¹ that the book is a post-exilic work, based on a pre-exilic narrative, has the great advantage of explaining the mixture of styles, but it has not yet found many advocates.

¹ *Einleitung in das Alte Test.*, p. 286 sqq (Bonn, 1893).

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER VIII.

THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL (I-II KINGS).....	251

<p>I.</p> <p>TITLE</p> <p>AND</p> <p>CONTENTS:</p>	1. Title in the Hebrew Text, the Septuagint and Vulgate Versions.	
	2. Chief Contents :	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 4em; margin-right: 10px;">{</div> <div> <p>(1) Samuel and the Establishment of the Monarchy (I Sam. i-xiv).</p> <p>(2) Saul and David (I Sam. xv-xxxi).</p> <p>(3) David's Public and Court Life (II Sam. i-xx).</p> <p>(4) Appendix: Miscellaneous Incidents (II Sam. xxi-xxiv).</p> </div> </div>

<p>II.</p> <p>UNITY</p> <p>AND</p> <p>AUTHORSHIP:</p>	1. Unity :		General Unity of the Books of Samuel must be admitted.
	Traces of Com- pilation:	{	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 4em; margin-right: 10px;">{</div> <div> <p>Principal Sources clearly utilized.</p> <p>Oldest Narrative of David's and Saul's reigns recognizable.</p> <p>Duplicate Accounts of the Same Event.</p> </div> </div>
			<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 4em; margin-right: 10px;">{</div> <div> <p>Certainly not written by Samuel.</p> <p>Not by the same Author as the books of Kings (III-IV Kings).</p> <p>Name of the Author or Final Editor unknown.</p> </div> </div>

III. PROBABILITIES AS REGARDS THE DATE OF COMPOSITION.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL (I-II KINGS).

§ I. *Their Title and Contents.*

I. Title in the Hebrew Text, the Septuagint and Vulgate Translations. In the Hebrew Text, the title of the two historical books of which we have to treat in the present chapter is *Samuel*. They are thus designated, not because Samuel was supposed to have been their author, but because that prophet is the leading character in their opening portion. The title appears to many most unsuitable,¹ inasmuch as it apparently denotes the general contents of the books, whereas in reality it refers only to the contents of the earlier chapters. Others, on the contrary,² approve of it, following in this the view of the Jewish commentator, Abrabanel (1437-1508), who says that these books are called by Samuel's name "because all things that occur in each book may, in a certain sense, be referred to Samuel—even the acts of Saul and David, for each of them was anointed by him, and was, as it were, the work of his hands." Be this as it may, the two books entitled "Samuel" are found as only one book in the Hebrew

¹ Cfr. Chas. H. H. WRIGHT, *Introd. to Old Test.*, p. 127; Henry P. SMITH, on the Books of Samuel (in the *Internat. Critical Commentary*), p. xii; etc.

² Cfr. DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 176 (6th edit.); Jas. ROBERTSON, *Introd. to the Books of Samuel* (in "Book by Book"), p. 77; VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 464; etc.

manuscripts, and their division into I Samuel and II Samuel, which was first introduced into the copies of the Septuagint, whence it passed into the Latin Bible, was first adopted in the Hebrew Text by Bamberg in his rabbinical edition of the Old Testament, which appeared at Venice, 1516-1517.¹

In the Septuagint Version the books of Samuel appear divided and under the title of "I and II Books of Kingdoms." The reason of this is found in the fact that the Greek translators took the whole series *Samuel-Kings* as a complete history of the kingdoms of Israel and Juda, and then broke it into four parts called accordingly the "four books of the Kingdoms." This fourfold division was adopted by St. Jerome in the Latin Vulgate, though for the title "Books of Kingdoms" he substituted "Books of Kings." In the ordinary editions of the Vulgate the titles "the First Book of Samuel," "the Second Book of Samuel," are given as the alternate names of "the First Book of Kings" and "the Second Book of Kings."²

2. Chief Contents of the Books of Samuel. The period of Hebrew history covered by the books of Samuel is estimated at about a hundred years. It begins with the circumstances connected with the birth of the prophet Samuel, and extends to the close of David's public life, the death of Saul marking the division between I and II Samuel. The events narrated have been grouped in various ways by scholars, and it is difficult to determine which of the divisions they have adopted is truly preferable.³ On

¹ The primitive union of I and II Samuel in the Hebrew Text is still witnessed to by the Massoretic summary of verses at the end of II Samuel.

² In the Protestant Versions the first and second books of Kings are simply entitled "First" and "Second" books of Samuel.

³ The division of I and II Samuel most commonly received (it is adopted by KEIL, VIGOUROUX, HUMMELAUER, CORNELY, CHAS. H. H. WRIGHT, SAMUEL DAVIDSON, etc.) is the one stated by DE WETTE, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. ii. The history is di-

the whole, that proposed by Prof. Driver¹ seems more satisfactory. It groups the contents under the four following heads: (1) Samuel and the Establishment of the Monarchy (I Sam. i-xiv); (2) Saul and David (I Sam. xv-xxxi); (3) David's public and court life (II Sam. i-xx); (4) an Appendix made up of various incidents (II Sam. xxi-xxiv).

The first part of the books of Samuel begins with an introductory section (i-vii, 17) recording the birth and youth of Samuel, together with his prophetic and civil offices in Israel. Its second section (viii-xiv) details the circumstances which led to the appointment of Saul as king, and also those which were connected with one of his wars against the Philistines. This first part closes with a summary of Saul's wars, of his family and his principal officer (xiv, 47-51).

The second part (xv-xxxi) gives an account of the gradual rise of David and of the fall of Saul. Its opening chapter holds an intermediate position between this and the foregoing part: it comes naturally after the formal close of the history of Saul's reign (xiv, 47-51), and before the introduction of David to history, chap. xv, 28, explaining how in what follows David is the principal figure even during the remainder of Saul's life. The next three chapters (xvi-xviii) introduce David fully to history as the anointed of the Lord, the skilful player before Saul, the victor of Goliath, the beloved friend of Jonathan, the favorite of the people, and also the hated rival of Saul. The vain efforts of the infuriated monarch to destroy David are recounted in chaps. xix-xxii, and the life of David as an outlaw is told in chaps.

vided by him into 3 parts: (1) the history of Samuel's administration as prophet and judge (I Sam. i-xii); (2) the history of Saul's government and of the early destination of David, prospectively anointed king (I Sam. xiii-xxxi); (3) the history of David's government (II Sam. i-xxiv).

¹ *Introd. to the Literat. of the Old Test.*, p. 173. DRIVER's divisions resemble in many respects those admitted by JAHN, *Introd. to Old Test.*, p. 253 sq. (Engl. Transl.).

xxiii-xxvi. At length David becomes the vassal of the Philistine, Achis, and lives in this foreign country till he hears of Saul's defeat and death at Gelboe (xxvii-xxxi).

The third part comprises II Sam. i-xx, and in two distinct sections records (1) the public doings of David (chaps. i-viii), and (2) the principal events in David's court-life (ix-xx, of which I Kings i-ii is the continuation). The closing chapter (chap. viii) of the first section contains a summary of David's wars and a list of his ministers, clearly parallel to the one already noted in connection with the formal clause of Saul's reign in I Sam. xiv, 47-51. In like manner, the second section (II Sam. ix-xx) is brought to a close by a list of David's ministers (xx, 23-26).

The fourth part is an Appendix¹ supplying in four chapters (xxi-xxiv) six particular incidents rather loosely connected with the history recorded in I and II books of Samuel. These incidents are (1) the famine in Israel stopped through the crucifixion of the sons of Saul "before Yahweh" (II Sam. xxi, 1-14); (2) an account of some wars of King David (xxi, 15-22); (3) David's hymn of triumph identical with Ps. xviii (Vulg. xvii) (II Sam. xxii); (4) a poem of David inscribed as his "last words" (xxiii, 1-7); (5) a list of David's valiant men (xxiii, 8-39); (6) David's census of the people and its consequent punishment (xxiv). These miscellaneous incidents form a kind of supplement to the completed books of Samuel, and interrupt the continuous narrative in II Sam. ix-xx, I Kings i-ii.

§ 2. *The Unity and Authorship of the Books of Samuel.*

I. Their Unity. From the foregoing brief sketch of the contents of I and II Samuel it is easy to infer their

¹ This was admitted long ago by JAHN, and is now the opinion generally received. Cfr. HUMMELAUER, *Comm. in libros Samuel*, pp. 9, 23; H. LESÊTRE, *Introd. à l'Étude de l'Écriture Sainte*, vol. ii, p. 233; DRIVER, JAS. ROBERTSON, CH. H. H. WRIGHT, etc.

general unity. The narratives plainly tend toward a common end, viz., that of giving the history of the period from the birth of Samuel to the close of David's reign, and with their present arrangement in the Hebrew text form a self-contained whole marked off by Appendices from both the book of Judges and I Kings (III Kings in Vulg.). Not only are Samuel, Saul and David the three great historical figures which together fill up the century which witnessed the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy, but many narratives concerning them point forwards or backwards to one another, and are in other ways so connected as to evince a unity of plan and writer. It must therefore be admitted that "the two books of Samuel are one connected composition, the parts of which were put together by some one who from the outset had the succeeding history and its close before his eye."¹

But while recognizing this general unity of the books now under consideration, most contemporary scholars² agree in regarding their contents as put together through a compilatory process, traces of which can still be pointed out.

First of all, the writer has certainly utilized ancient sources of information. This is evident in regard to the "Book of Yashar" (or "the Just"), from which, as he tells us, he drew David's lament on Saul and Jonathan.³ This is hardly less certain in regard to other poetical pieces embodied in his work, such as "the Song of Anna";⁴ David's lament on the death of Abner;⁵ the song of triumph in II Sam. xxii, which is the same as Ps. xviii (xvii in Vulg.); the song en-

¹ Prof. Jas. ROBERTSON, *The Books of Samuel* (in "Book by Book"), p. 81. See also KEIL, *Introd.*, vol. i, p. 244; VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 465; etc.

² Among them may be reckoned VON HUMMELAUER, S.J.; CLAIR, *les Livres des Rois*, Préface, p. 12; HANNEBERG, *Histoire de la Révélation Biblique*, vol. i, p. 418 (French Transl.); etc.

³ Cfr. II Sam. i, 18.

⁴ I Sam. ii, 1-10.

⁵ II Sam. iii, 33 sq.

titled "the last words of David," found in II Sam. xxiii, 1-7: it is clear that these are not given as the author's own compositions, and are thereby shown to have been taken up by him from some other source, oral or more probably written, into his narrative.¹ A similar inference is naturally drawn from the fact that the comparison of a goodly number of sections common to Samuel and I Chronicles leads to admit their origin from a common source.² The following is a list of the passages common to both inspired writings:

I Sam. xxxi	=	I Chron. x, 1-12.	I Sam. vii	=	I Chron. xvii.
II Sam. iii, 2-5	=	iii, 1-4.	viii	=	xviii.
v, 1-3	=	xi, 1-3.	x	=	xix.
v, 5	=	iii, 4.	xi, 1	=	xx, 1.
v, 6-10	=	xi, 4-9.	xii, 29-31	=	xx, 2, 3.
v, 11-25	=	xiv, 1-16.	xxi, 18-22	=	xx, 4-7.
vi, 1-11	=	xiii, 5-14.	xxiii, 8-39	=	xi, 14-41.
vi, 12-16	=	xv, 25-29.	xxiv	=	xxi.
vi, 17-20	=	xvi, 1-3, 43.]			

"It is quite probable also that the writer availed himself of official documents, state lists, and so forth, or even incorporated them bodily, in such passages as II Sam. xxi, 15-22; xxiii, 8-39, where there are lists of brave men in David's service and records of their exploits. In II Sam. viii, 16-18 (compare xx, 24), which gives the list of court officials, a 'recorder' or chronicler, and a 'scribe,' or secretary, appear. The existence of officials of this description makes it probable that documents of a public kind were at hand for reference, and that writing was not uncommon at the time."³

In the second place, a careful study of our present narratives of the reigns of Saul and David discloses the presence of the oldest narrative of the two reigns, which was constructed upon a similar model for both. "First is described the manner in which Saul and David respectively

¹ Jas. ROBERTSON, loc. cit., p. 83.

² HUMMELAUER, loc. cit., p. 5. This comparison can be most easily carried out by means of the work "Deuterographs" compiled by Rob. B. GIRDLESTONE, and presenting the duplicate passages in parallel columns (Oxford, 1894).

³ Jas. ROBERTSON, *ibid.*

reach the throne; then their accomplishment of the military task in the first instance intrusted to them;¹ then follows a survey of other memorable achievements,² and so the history is concluded.³

Thirdly, and more particularly, the process of compilation is evidenced by the duplicate accounts of the same event which one meets with in the books of Samuel. In them, as in many historical books of the Old Testament, the duplication of certain incidents is easily made out⁴ by paying attention to what are truly repetitions of the same topic presented with appreciable differences in details, style and point of view. Now all such duplicate accounts of the same event clearly point to a process of compilation whereby the author of I-II Samuel embodied such extracts from pre-existing documents as made for the general purpose of his history. From among these varying accounts we shall simply mention the following:

(1) There are two narratives of Saul's rejection. The former⁵ ascribes this rejection to the fact that he offered up a sacrifice without waiting for the presence of Samuel. In the latter,⁶ we are told that this occurred because he had spared in part the Amalecites, contrary to Yahweh's positive order. (2) There are two accounts of David's introduction to Saul. In xvi, 14-23, the young David is called to court as a skilful player to soothe Saul's melancholy, and becomes very dear to this monarch, who makes him his armor-bearer. The next chapters (xvii, xviii) speak of David as a boy sent on an errand to Saul's camp, where he hears of Goliath's challenge and accepts it. After David's victory

¹ Cfr. I Sam. ix, 16; II Sam. iii, 18; xix, 9.

² I Sam. xiv, 47-51; II Sam. xx, 23-26. Cfr. chap. viii.

³ DRIVER, *Introd. to Liter. of Old Test.*, p. 182.

⁴ HANNEBERG, *Histoire de la Révélation Biblique*, vol. i, p. 418 (French Transl.).

⁵ I Sam. xiii, 2-14.

⁶ I Sam. xv, 1-35.

over Goliath, he is introduced to Saul, who does not yet know him, any more than Abner does, though the latter was captain of the royal host. (3) It is said in I Sam. vii, 13 that "the Philistines did not come any more into the borders of Israel all the days of Samuel"; and yet, in chap. ix, 16, Saul is appointed to save Israel from the oppression of the Philistines, and the reality of their invasion is described in xiii, 5; xxiii, 27; etc. (4) In chaps. viii-xii there is a combination of two *independent* narratives of the manner in which Saul became king, differing in their representation both of Samuel and of his relation to Saul.¹ (5) Chap. xix, 18-24 is parallel to x, 10-13, and contains a second explanation of the origin of the proverb: "Is Saul too among the prophets?" (6) There are two different accounts respecting the circumstances of Saul's death, set side by side, and left unharmonized, apparently because the writer is a compiler who wishes to preserve for us whatever is found of interest in his sources of information.

To these duplicates several writers add others, such, for instance, as two accounts of David's flight from court, two of his having Saul in his power, two of his taking refuge with Achis, etc.; but in these latter cases it is much more difficult to show that two accounts of one and the same event are actually recorded: on the other hand, there is nothing impossible or, in the circumstances, improbable in the supposition that facts of this kind should have occurred twice; and, on the other, the details in the different cases vary so much that the rise of two narratives from one common event is by no means clear.

It is true that many Catholic and conservative Protestant scholars, chiefly concerned with rejecting whatever might seem to impair the veracity of the sacred narrative, have labored hard to show that the same thing should be

¹ For the details, see DRIVER, loc. cit., p. 175 sq.

admitted in regard to all the duplicate accounts noticeable in the book of Samuel. And yet, in reference to the two-fold narrative of David's first introduction to Saul, as the difficulties in the way of the perfect harmony they wished for proved really too great, some of them have gone so far as to reject the genuineness of several passages of the Hebrew text, under the plea that they were not found in the Vatican MS. of the Septuagint Version;¹ while others, struck by the fact that even the rejection of these passages did not do entirely away with the apparent discrepancy, have frankly recognized the presence of two accounts taken from two divers documents.² In like manner the difficulty in harmonizing I Sam. vii, 13 with ix, 6; xiii, 5; xxiii, 27, etc., has led VON HUMMELAUER, S.J., to regard a process of compilation as its best solution.³ It seems likewise beyond doubt that two independent narratives have been combined concerning the manner in which Saul became king,⁴ and simply put the one after the other in regard to the circumstances of Saul's death.⁵ Now, when these clear cases are borne in mind, it is only natural to look at other seeming instances of duplication in the same light, and therefore most unreasonable to contest each of them singly, on principles which imply that compilation is as unlikely as it would be in a work of modern his-

¹ In the Vatican MS. of the LXX, chap. xvii, 12-31, 41, 50, 55-58; xviii, 1-5, are wanting. By the omission of these verses, the elements which conflict with xvi, 14-23 are not entirely removed (cfr. xvii, 33, 38 sqq. with xvi, 18, 21b). See Abbé MARTIN, *Origine du Pentateuque*, vol. i, p. 62.

² This is admitted by HIMPEL in *Tübingen Quartalschrift*, 1874, p. 239; VON HUMMELAUER, S.J., *Comm. in lib. Samuel*, p. 184 sq.; and apparently, also, though more reluctantly, by CORNELY, S.J., in his *Introd. Specialis in historicos libros Veteris Testamenti*, p. 264. See also the author's "Outlines of Jewish History," p. 191 sq., and DRIVER, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. 116 sq.; etc.

³ VON HUMMELAUER, *loc. cit.*, p. 90 sq. See also Jas. ROBERTSON, in *Book by Book*, p. 84.

⁴ I Sam. viii-xii. Cfr. the excellent summary of the grounds for this position in DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 175 sq.

⁵ Cfr. art. Samuel (books of), in SMITH, *Bible Dict.*, vol. iv, p. 2829 sq. (Amer. Edit.).

tory. To which it may be added that, as the author and date of I-II Samuel are unknown, their historical value is not impaired by their being deemed, to a certain extent, a compilation. Indeed, from one point of view, their value is in this way somewhat enhanced, as the probability is increased of its containing documents of an early date, some of which—as strenuously maintained by Father Von Hummelauer—may have been written by persons contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the events described.¹ But, whatever may be thought of this last inference, it seems unquestionable that a candid examination of the duplicate accounts in I-II Samuel will bear out the following striking words of HANNEBERG, O.S.B.²: “The primitive sources of these first two books are less modified, less recast than those which were utilized in the composition of the last two books of Kings (III-IV). On that account the same fact recorded in these first two books exhibits, at times, if not insoluble contradictions, at least traces so manifest of divers primitive documents that any attentive reader can discover them.”

2. Authorship of I-II Samuel. As contemporary scholars are well-nigh unanimous in regarding the books of Samuel in their present form as the work of only one final editor, and as this position is solidly grounded on the fact that their contents, from whatever sources derived, are arranged according to one and the same general plan, the views of the ancient rabbis who admitted a threefold authorship cannot be seriously entertained. It is true that in I Paralip. xxix, 29 we read: “The acts of David first and last are written in the book of Samuel the seer, and in the

¹ SMITH, *Bible Dict.*, loc. cit., p. 2830. See also the valuable remarks of Father LA GRANGE, O.P., in *Revue Biblique Internationale* for 1896, p. 512; A LOISY, *La Question Biblique et l'Inspiration des Ecritures*, p. 14; etc.

² *Histoire de la Révélation Biblique*, vol. i, p. 418 (French Transl., Paris, 1856). Cfr. DRIVER's remarks to the same effect in his *Literat. of the Old Test.*, p. 5 (New York, 1897).

book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the seer." But nothing proves that these words must be understood of our books of Samuel, the first 24 chapters of which would have been written by Samuel, and the rest by the prophets Nathan and Gad. On the contrary, several passages¹ show that they were written after the events recorded, and not by contemporaries.²

Still less admissible is the opinion embodied in the Talmud, which ascribes the sole authorship of those books to the prophet Samuel, whose name they bear, since they record his very death, and numberless facts subsequent to his lifetime. And this, as may be stated in passing, proves how little so-called Jewish traditions regarding the authorship of the sacred writings can be implicitly trusted.

Likewise to be rejected is the theory of those scholars³ who have maintained that our books of Samuel come from the same hand as the books of Kings (III-IV Kings). In vain do they argue that the general plan and execution of the four books of Kings are the same; that the language and style of them all is likewise identical; that it is inconceivable that he who undertook the life of David continued it to his last years without mentioning either his resignation of the throne to his son and successor or his death; that the Septuagint Version numbers the books of Samuel and Kings as the four books of Kings, implying that they go to make up a complete history of the Hebrew monarchy;⁴ etc. The differences between Samuel and Kings in regard to style, language, plan, literary methods, etc., are incomparably greater than the resemblances, and have convinced most re-

¹ I Sam. vii. 15; ix. 9; xxvii. 6; etc.

² Cfr. VIGOUROUX, *Man. Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 467; and also SMITH, *Bible Dict.*, vol. iv, p. 2826 sq.

³ Among them may be mentioned EICHHORN, JAHN, HERBST, EWALD, etc.

⁴ For a detailed discussion of those grounds, see SAMUEL DAVIDSON, *Introd. to Old Test.*, vol. i. p. 523 sqq.

cent scholars of a difference as regards authorship. All that can be reasonably conceded to the advocates of this opinion is that, at a given time in the formation of the historical series extending from Josue to Kings, the books of Samuel probably embraced the materials contained in the first two chapters of our third book of Kings, so as to continue the narrative of David's life to its close by the narrative of his death. But the very fact that the second book of Samuel is separated by a long Appendix from the following book shows that they formed a self-contained whole when they came forth from the hands of their final editor. Moreover, the final editor of the 3d and 4th books of Kings proves himself different from the compiler of the preceding books by (1) the traces of the Babylonian period throughout the work; (2) his frequent references to the Mosaic Law; (3) his disapproval of freedom of worship; (4) the different spirit of his history; (5) his distinct and frequent references to sources of information; (6) the minuteness of his chronology; etc.¹

After the unity of authorship for the four books of Kings had thus been disproved, individual prominent writers, such as David, Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechias, and Esdras, have been named as the authors of the books of Samuel (I-II Kings). The diversity of the names put forward, together with the long period of time which elapsed between the first (David) and the last (Esdras) of those supposed authors, shows that "all such hypotheses do not rest on any solid ground,"² and that it is better to refrain from advancing the name of any one, and to say that the author or final editor of I-II Samuel "is unknown."³

¹ Cfr. DE WETTE, *Introd. to Old Test.*, vol. ii, § 186, p. 251 (Engl. Transl.); and more particularly H. LESÊTRE, *Introduction à l'Écriture Sainte*, vol. ii, p. 236 sq. (Paris, 1890); and JAS. ROBERTSON, in *Book by Book* vol. i, p. 82; etc.

² VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 467.

³ VIGOUROUX, *ibid.*

§ 3. *Probabilities as regards the Date of Composition.*

About the same diversity of opinions, and consequent ignorance, prevails among scholars in relation to the precise date of composition, as in relation to the authorship, of the books of Samuel. Claire and Zschokke simply refer it to the period between David's death and the Babylonian captivity; Thenius places it not long after David; Ewald, some thirty years after Solomon; Welte, Danko, soon after the disruption of Solomon's kingdom; Kaulen, under the son of Roboam; Vigouroux, Cornely, Lesêtre, under Roboam; Wellhausen, toward the end of the kingdom of Juda; Von Hummelauer, long before the death of Solomon; etc. In presence of such a variety of opinions it is clear that nothing more definite than probabilities can be expected regarding the date of the final redaction of the books of Samuel.¹

It is probable, first of all, that the latest date to which their composition can be ascribed is the discovery of the Deuteronomic Law under Josias (621 B.C.). The thorough reformation of public worship in Israel which Josias wrought out in consequence of this discovery has left no trace of its influence upon the composition of the books of Samuel. "The probability that a sacred historian, writing after that reformation, would have expressed disapprobation of, or would have accounted for, any seeming departure from the laws of the Pentateuch by David, Saul or Samuel (and this seeming departure is often recorded in I-II Sam.), is not in itself conclusive, but joined to other considerations it is entitled to peculiar weight. The natural mode of dealing with such a religious scandal, when it shocks the ideas of a later generation, is followed by the author of the books of

¹ For an approximate date of the principal strata recognizable in I-II Samuel, see DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 183 sq.; H. P. SMITH, *Comm. on the Books of Samuel*, p. xxvii sqq.; HUMMELAUER, *Comm. in lib. Samuelis*; BENNETT, *Biblical Introd.*, p. 89 sqq.; etc.

Kings,¹ who undoubtedly lived after the reformation of Josias, or the beginning at least of the captivity of Juda.² This writer mentions the toleration of worship on high places with disapprobation, not only in connection with bad kings, such as Manasses and Achaz, but likewise as a drawback in the excellence of other kings, such as Asa, Josaphat, Joas, etc., who are praised for having done what was right in the sight of Jehovah;³ and something of the same kind might have been expected in the writer of the books of Samuel, if he had lived at a time when the worship on high places had been abolished."⁴ To some extent also, the comparative purity of language observable throughout the books of Samuel makes for the same general position.⁵

In the second place, as regards the earliest date at which the composition of these inspired writings may be assigned, it seems that this earliest point of time was subsequent to the secession of the ten tribes. It is true that, from the statement giving the full number of years that David reigned both in Hebron and in Jerusalem,⁶ nothing can be inferred but that the writer lived after David's death; and that from the formula "unto this day," oftentimes employed by him,⁷ nothing can be drawn beyond the inference that he wrote a considerable time after the events spoken of, as is also evidenced by his explanation of terms and usages as antiquated in Israel,⁸ though they are referred to the time of Saul and David. But when it is said⁹ that "Siceleg belongeth to the

¹ III-IV Kings.

² IV Kings xxv, 21, 27.

³ Cfr. III Kings xv, 14; xxii, 43; IV Kings xii, 3; xiv, 4; etc., etc.

⁴ Edw. TWISLETON, art. Samuel (books of), in Smith, Bible Dict., vol. iv, p. 2827 sq.

⁵ Cfr. GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, Hebrew Grammar (transl. by G. W. COLLINS and A. E. COWLEY), p. 13, etc.

⁶ II Sam. v, 5.

⁷ Cfr. I Sam. v, 5; vi, 18; xxx, 25; etc., etc.

⁸ I Sam. ix, 9; II Sam. xiii, 18.

⁹ I Sam. xxvii, 6.

kings of Juda unto this day," the expression "kings of Juda" points by its plural form, and its natural opposition to the kings of *Israel*, to a period after the schism of the ten tribes, when the two kingdoms, that of Juda and that of Israel, have been in existence for some time already.¹ Perhaps even, as some suppose, the reference is to the time when the kingdom of Juda alone survived, that is after 721 B.C.

For various reasons which cannot be discussed here it may perhaps be admitted that the work once drawn up in about its present form underwent a slight revision at a somewhat later period, when it was brought into closer connection with the third and the fourth books of kings.²

¹ Cfr. VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 468; SMITH, *Bible Dict.*, vol. iv, p. 2829; etc.

² Cfr. DRIVER, BENNETT, etc., *loc. cit.*

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER IX.

THE BOOKS OF KINGS (III-IV KINGS).....	PAGE 267

<p>I.</p> <p>NAME</p> <p>AND</p> <p>CHIEF CONTENTS:</p>	<p>1. Name in the Hebrew Text, the Septuagint and Vulgate Versions.</p> <p>2. Chief Contents:</p> <p>1. Solomon's Rule (III Kings i-xi).</p> <p>2. The kingdoms of Israel and Juda (III Kings xii—IV Kings xvii).</p> <p>3. The surviving kingdom of Juda (IV Kings xviii-xxv).</p>
<p>II.</p> <p>GENERAL STRUCTURE</p> <p>AND</p> <p>DATE OF COMPOSITION:</p>	<p>1. General Structure:</p> <p>2. Date of Composition:</p> <p>Similar to that of the Central Part in the Book of Judges.</p> <p>1st Element: A Framework (the Opening and Concluding Formulas, Examined).</p> <p>2d Element: The Narrative (the "Epitome" and the Longer Narrations).</p> <p>The Books of Kings (III-IV) are the Work of One Compiler.</p> <p>This Compiler lived long after most of the Events recorded.</p> <p>His Work was substantially finished about 600 B.C.</p>
<p>III.</p> <p>AUTHORSHIP</p> <p>AND</p> <p>HISTORICAL VALUE:</p>	<p>1. Authorship:</p> <p>2. Historical Value:</p> <p>Jeremias, the Author of III-IV Kings according to Talmud. Many Catholic Scholars.</p> <p>Author really unknown.</p> <p>General Arguments in its Favor.</p> <p>Some historical difficulties still remaining, but not disquieting.</p>

CHAPTER IX.

THE BOOKS OF KINGS (III-IV KINGS).

§ 1. *Name and Chief Contents.*

1. Their Name in the Hebrew Text, the Septuagint and the Vulgate Versions. The books of Kings close in the Hebrew Bible the series of Old Testament narratives which is called the "Earlier Prophets," and which includes Josue-Kings. In the Hebrew text their title is simply *Melakhim*, "Kings." They are thus named because they give an account of the history of the Hebrew monarchs from the accession of Solomon, David's son and first successor, to the release of Joachin, the last Jewish king, from his imprisonment in Babylon, in 562 B.C. Like the books of Samuel they contain a connected history of the period which they cover, and on that account were, like the books of Samuel, originally reckoned as only one book. In fact, the division of the Hebrew text of Kings into two books (I-II Kings) is not found in the MSS. or in the early printed editions, and occurs for the first time in the great Rabbinical Bible published by Daniel Bomberg at Venice, 1516-1517. The division is far from felicitous, for there is not the least natural break between the two books.

The twofold division just noticed in the modern Hebrew Bibles is derived from the Septuagint Version, the MSS. and printed editions of which always exhibit the text broken

into two parts, which are called the third and the fourth books of Kingdoms (*βασιλειῶν*) respectively, the first and the second of Kings being the first and the second of Samuel in the Hebrew text. This partition of the Septuagint was adopted by St. Jerome in the Latin Vulgate, though for the title "books of Kingdoms" he substituted "books of Kings." In the ordinary editions of the Latin Vulgate a twofold title is given for each book: "Liber tertius Regum, secundum Hebræos, Primus Malachim," "Liber quartus Regum, secundum Hebræos, Secundus Malachim." The Catholic vernacular Versions usually follow the reckoning of the Septuagint and St. Jerome, and speak of the third and the fourth books of Kings, whereas Protestant translations call them, after the manner of the Hebrew Bibles, the first and the second books of Kings.

2. Their Chief Contents. The period of Hebrew history covered by the books of Kings (iii-iv) is estimated at about 400 years. The matters treated of in connection with this long period fall naturally into three divisions corresponding to the three great phases in the fortunes of the Jewish monarchy. The first Part (III Kings i-xi) records Solomon's rule over all Israel; the second (III Kings xii-IV Kings xvii) contains the history of the separated kingdoms of Israel and Juda; and the third (IV Kings xviii-xxv) gives the history of the surviving kingdom of Juda.

The first part opens with two chapters, which their style and materials prove to be the direct continuation of David's reign as recorded in II Sam. ix-xx. They form at once the close of the history of David, and the introduction to that of Solomon. Next comes (III Kings iii-xi) an account of Solomon's reign, the structure of which is plainly as follows: Its central point is a description of this monarch's buildings (the Temple and the royal palace in chaps. vi-

vii).¹ On either side of this description are immediately found two sections (v, and viii-ix, 9) most intimately connected with it, inasmuch as they detail, the former the preparations for the rearing of the Temple, and the latter the prayer of dedication and God's warning for the future; and on either side of these sections themselves is placed a group of narratives and shorter notices (iii-iv; ix, 10-x, 29) intended to illustrate Solomon's wisdom and magnificence. Chap. xi brings the first part of the books of Kings to its natural conclusion, the death of Solomon, and prepares the reader for the disruption of the kingdom with the narrative of which the second part begins by speaking of Solomon's polygamy and idolatry, and recording a prediction of their direst consequence, the impending disruption.

The history of the separated kingdoms is the subject of the second part (III Kings xii-IV Kings xvii). It may be divided into three periods: the first setting forth the immediate cause of the separation, and extending to the time of Achab, King of Israel (xii-xvi, 28), during which there was a sharp opposition between the monarchs of the two kingdoms; the second (III Kings xvi, 29-IV Kings x) coming down to the elevation of Joas to the throne, during which, owing to a marriage alliance of the two reigning houses, the kingdom of Israel stood in friendly relations with that of Juda; and the third (IV Kings xi-xvii) reaching down to the downfall of the Northern Kingdom, and in which the relations of the two kingdoms were again those of indifference or hostility.² This third period concludes with a survey of the causes which led to the fall of the kingdom of Israel, and an explanation of the origin of

¹ The opening formula: 'And it came to pass in the 480th year . . .' in chap. vi, 1, and the concluding formula: "And Solomon finished all the work that he made in the house of Yahweh . . ." in chap. vii, 51, are worthy of particular notice in this connection.

² For details concerning the contents of this Second Part and the prophetic deeds of Elias and Eliseus embodied therein, see the author's "Outlines of Jewish History."

the mixed population and religion of the Samaritans (cfr. xvii, 7-41).

The third part of the books of Kings (IV Kings xviii-xxv) deals with the history of the surviving kingdom of Juda. Its first subdivision (xviii-xx) details the reign of Ezechias and contains a hint given him of the doom that was to overtake his kingdom. The second subdivision (xxi-xxiv, 5) gives an account of the subsequent kings: Manasses, Amon, Josias, Joachaz and Joachim, whose deeds hastened in various ways the forthcoming catastrophe. Lastly, the third subdivision (xxiv, 6-xxv) brings down the narrative to the second and final captivity of Juda, and the release of the last Jewish monarch, Joachim, from his imprisonment in Babylon, in 562 B.C.

§ 2. *General Structure and Date of Composition of the Books of Kings.*

1. General Structure. From the very fact that the contents of the books of Kings (iii-iv) extend over a very long period of history, it is antecedently probable that they have been composed by means of pre-existing documents. This antecedent probability is confirmed by the many references to written sources of information¹ which they contain, by the striking differences in style and language² in different parts which they exhibit, and also by a comparison with the books of Chronicles with which they agree in reproducing, word for word, numerous passages drawn from common sources.³ It is not therefore surprising to find that nearly all Biblical scholars⁴ ascribe to the books of

¹ III Kings xi, 41; xiv, 19, 29; x, 7, 23, 31, etc.; IV Kings i, 18; viii. 23; x, 34, xii, 19, etc., etc.

² Cfr. JAHN, *Introd. to Old Test.*, p. 266 (Engl. Transl.); C. F. BURNEY, art. Kings (I and II) in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 858 sqq.

³ These parallel passages will be given in connection with the books of Chronicles, in the next chapter.

⁴ Cfr. JAHN, *loc. cit.*, p. 263 sq.; HANNEBERG, *Histoire de la Révélation Biblique*,

Kings (iii-iv) the same compilatory character as has been recognized in the foregoing chapters, in connection with Genesis-Samuel. In point of fact, their general structure is essentially similar to that of the central part of the book of Judges (chaps. iii, 7-xvi); in both cases, the materials derived from older sources appear—more or less modified—fitted into a framework; in both cases, also, the framework and the continuous narrative it encircles exhibit features worthy of special notice.

The framework consists of stereotyped formulas which stand with hardly any variations at the opening and at the close of each reign, and which “comprise the chronological details, references to authorities, and judgments on the character of the various kings, especially with reference to their attitude to the worship at the high places—all cast in the same literary mould and marked by the same characteristic phraseology. Both in point of view and in phraseology the compiler shows himself to be strongly influenced by *Deuteronomy*.¹ The opening formula is a little more complete in the case of the kings of Juda than in that of the kings of Israel. In the first case, it gives (1) a synchronism of the year of the accession with the corresponding reigning year of the contemporary king of Israel; (2) the age of the monarch at his accession; (3) the length of his reign; (4) the name of the king's mother; (5) a brief judgment on his character. For instance, the introductory formula for Asa, King of Juda, in III Kings, chap. xv, reads:

Verse 9. In the twentieth year of Jeroboam King of Israel, began Asa to reign over Juda.

10. And he reigned one and forty years in Jerusalem.

His mother's name was Maacha, the daughter of Abessalom.

vol. i, p. 418 (French Transl.); CLAIR, *Les Livres des Rois*, p. 120; CORNELY, S.J., *Introductio*, vol. ii, part i, pp. 298, 296; etc.

¹ DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 185.

11. And Asa did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh, as did David his father.

In the case of the kings of Israel, the introductory formula gives (1) a synchronism with the kingdom of Juda; (2) the length of the king's reign; (3) a brief verdict as to his character always unfavorable, and usually stating the general fact that he did evil in the eyes of Yahweh, together with a special mention of his following the sins of Jeroboam. For instance, the introductory formula for Nadab, King of Israel, in III Kings xv, reads:

Verse 25. Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, began to reign over Israel the second year of Asa, King of Juda: and he reigned over Israel two years.

26. And he did that which was evil in the eyes of Yahweh, and walked in the way of his father, and in his sin wherewith he made Israel to sin.

The conclusion of the account of a reign assumes the following form: (1) the editor's reference to his principal source of information. Usually we read:

And the rest of the acts of (*So-and-So*) and all that he did,
 are they } of the acts of Solomon? ¹
 not written } of the Annals of the Kings of Juda? ²
 in the book } of the Annals of the Kings of Israel? ³

When further details are mentioned as existing in the source, these usually stand immediately after "and all that he did"—for instance, in III Kings xi, 41, "and all that he did, *and his wisdom*"; ⁴

(2) a mention of the king's death and burial in the usual following manner:

And (*So-and-So*) slept with his fathers
 and was buried } with his fathers in X.
 (or) and they buried him }

¹ III Kings xi, 41, 43.

² III Kings xiv. 29, 31; etc.

³ III Kings xiv, 19, 20, etc.

⁴ Cfr. III Kings xxii, 46, "and his battles"; etc.

The expression "was buried with his fathers" is never used in connection with the kings of Israel; and the words "slept with his fathers" are naturally omitted in the case of those kings who met with a violent death;¹

(3) a notice of the name of the king's immediate successor:

And (*So-and-So*,) his son, reigned in his stead.²

The following table, taken substantially from HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible (vol. ii, p. 858 sq.), discloses the wonderful extent to which this systematic manner of introducing or concluding the account of a reign is carried out in the books of Kings (III-IV):

Introduction.		Conclusion.
	David . . .	III Kings ii, 10.
III Kings iii, 3; xi, 4-6, 42.	Solomon . . .	xi, 41, 43.
<i>Kings of Juda:</i>		
III Kings xiv, 21, 22, 31	Roboam . . .	III Kings xiv, 29, 31.
xv, 1-3 . . .	Abiam . . .	xv, 7, 8.
xv, 9-11 . . .	Asa . . .	xv, 23, 24.
xxii, 41-44 . . .	Josaphat . . .	xxii, 46, 50.
IV Kings viii, 16, 17 . . .	Joram . . .	IV Kings viii, 23, 24.
viii, 25-27; ix, 29.	Ochozias . . .	ix, 28 ^b .
xii, 1-4 . . .	Joas . . .	xii, 20, 21.
xiv, 1-4 . . .	Amasias . . .	xiv, 18, 20, 22.
xv, 1-4 . . .	Azarias . . .	xv, 6, 7.
xv, 32-34 . . .	Joatham . . .	xv, 36, 38.
xvi, 1-4 . . .	Achaz . . .	xvi, 19, 20.
xviii, 1-3 . . .	Ezechias . . .	xx, 20, 21.
xxi, 1, 2 . . .	Manasses . . .	xxi, 17, 18.
xxi, 19-22 . . .	Amon . . .	xxi, 25, 26.
xxii, 1, 2 . . .	Josias . . .	xxiii, 29, 30.
xxiii, 31, 32 . . .	Joachaz.	
xxiii, 36, 37 . . .	Joakim . . .	xxiv, 5, 6.
xxiv, 8, 9 . . .	Joachin.	
xxiv, 18, 19 . . .	Sedecias	

¹ Cfr. IV Kings xii, 21; xiv, 20; etc.

² Cfr. III Kings xi, 43; xiv, 31; etc.

Kings of Israel:

III Kings xiii, 33, 20 ^a	. . . Jeroboam .	III Kings xiv, 19, 20.
xv, 25, 26	. . . Nadab	xv, 31.
xv, 33, 34	. . . Baasa	xvi, 5, 6.
xvi, 8, 13	. . . Ela	xvi, 14.
xvi, 15, 19	. . . Zambri	xvi, 20.
xvi, 23, 25, 26	. . . Amri	xvi, 27, 28.
xvi, 29-31 ^a	. . . Achab	xxii, 30, 40.
xxii, 51, 52	. . . Ochozias .	IV Kings i, 17, 18.
IV Kings iii, 1-3	. . . Joram.	
x, 29, 31, 36	. . . Jehu	x, 34, 35.
xiii, 1, 2	. . . Joachaz	xiii, 8, 9.
xiii, 10, 11	. . . Joas	xiii, 12, 13; xiv, 15, 16.
xiv, 23, 24	. . . Jeroboam	xiv, 28, 29.
xv, 8, 9	. . . Zacharias	xv, 11.
xv, 13	. . . Sellum	xv, 15.
xv, 17, 18	. . . Manahem	xv, 21, 22.
xv, 23, 24	. . . Phaceia	xv, 26.
xv, 27, 28	. . . Phacee	xv, 31.
xvii, 1, 2	. . . Osee.	

Within the framework thus far described is contained the narrative proper of the books of Kings. The general structure of this second element, in regard to the history of Solomon's rule,¹ has already been given in connection with the contents of the first part of the books of Kings, and requires no further notice. As regards the narrative found in the second part,² it is generally considered as made up (1) of short statistical notices which give the "Epitome" of historical events. These have reference to both the Northern and the Southern Kingdoms, deal chiefly with what may be called *political* matters, and, as such, appear to be summaries of the particulars recorded in the two books of "Annals" so constantly mentioned in the conclusion to each reign as the writer's principal source of information;³

¹ III Kings i-xi.

² III Kings xii-IV Kings xvii.

³ To this "Epitome" C. F. BURNEY assigns III Kings xiv, 21 xvi, 34; xxii, 41-53;

(2) of longer narrations which are not directly concerned with the public doings of the kings and, on that account, seem to be derived from sources independent of "The Annals of the Kings of Juda," and of "The Annals of the Kings of Israel." The religious tone of most of these narrations has led scholars to trace them back to prophetic sources; but at times some of them give such full and minute details concerning the Temple and its priesthood¹ that they are supposed to have been drawn from the Temple archives. The structure of the narrative in the last part of the books of Kings² when closely examined points to extracts taken apparently from State annals, from prophetic sources, and also, no doubt, to a greater and greater personal share of the editor in the composition of the work.³

2. Date of Composition of III-IV Kings. The foregoing account of the Contents and Structure of the books of Kings, however short, is sufficient to prove that these inspired writings are the work of one compiler or editor. Their three main parts are so intimately connected as to prove that they were intended to make up a continuous history of the Hebrew monarchs, from Solomon down to the last kings of Juda. One and the same hand wrote the framework into which, as we have seen, the narrative of the deeds of each king is thrown with wonderful regularity. The references to sources of information, which are absent from the preceding books, are carefully indicated throughout the books of Kings. The deeds of the Hebrew rulers are, from the beginning to the end of the work, judged from the Deuteronomic standpoint, "every king of the Northern

IV Kings viii, 16-29; xii, 18-xiii, 13; xiii, 22-xvii, 16 (except xiv, 8-14; xvi, 10-16).
Cfr. HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 865.

¹ Cfr. IV Kings xi, 4-20; xii, 4-16; xvi, 10-16; xxii, 3-xxiii, 24.

² IV Kings xviii-xxv.

³ Cfr. DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 197 sq.

Kingdom being characterized as doing 'that which was evil in the eyes of Yahweh'; in the Southern Kingdom the exceptions (to that sentence of condemnation) are Asa, Josaphat, Joas, Amazias, Osias (Azarias), Joatham, Ezechias, Josias—usually, however, with the limitation that 'the high places were not removed,' as demanded by the Deuteronomic law."¹ The kings are all arranged in the exact order of their accession, and the deeds of those who reigned simultaneously in the North and in the South are handled according to one and the same definite principle: the narrative of a reign (either in Israel or in Juda) once begun is invariably continued to its close, the writer including in it even the contemporary incidents of a prophet's life, although they may not stand in direct connection with the public events of the reign described; when it is ended, the reign or reigns of the other series which have fallen within the same period are dealt with, till the reign overlapping it at the end has been concluded, for it is only then that the compiler takes up again the narrative of the first series with the reign next following, and so on. It is one and the same editor who formulated the "Epitome" or summary of the reigns, and combined it with the longer narrations, for there are cases in which each presupposes the other; and further, the contents of the "Epitome" appear so fragmentary as to make it probable that it never formed a separated history of the royal period.² Again, while it is highly improbable that in the annals of each kingdom the accession of the individual kings should be dated by the regnal years of the rulers of the other, it is very natural to admit that the sole author of the joint history of both kingdoms which we now possess in the books of

¹ DRIVER, loc. cit., p. 199. Solomon's deeds are also judged from the same Deuteronomic point of view (III Kings xi, 9-13, 31 sqq.).

² DRIVER, loc. cit.

Kings would establish such synchronisms and supply thereby the lack of an era.¹ One and the same religious object can be easily recognized in the selecting and putting together of the materials utilized in the composition of the books of Kings. "The writer's aim is invariably to apply to the past history of his race, from the time of Solomon and onward to his own day, the Deuteronomic standard, and to exemplify the view that prosperity is to be traced to a faithful regard for this standard, failure and catastrophe to its deliberate repudiation. . . . His special purpose is consistent with a selection from his materials; and this selection he carries out with such skill that the simple narration of the facts of history generally suffices to convey the lesson which he has at heart, even apart from his own comment and application."² It is certain that most of the differences in style and language noticeable in the books of Kings, while bespeaking their compilatory character, can be easily reconciled with the practical oneness of their compiler: as he was faithful in incorporating in their original form whole narratives or sections of narratives drawn from his various sources of information,³ it is only natural to expect that such differences in style, vocabulary, etc., should be met with in his work. Finally, the position that

¹ E. KAUTZSCH (*An Outline of the History of the Liter. of the Old Test.*; p. 71 sqq.) ascribes those synchronisms to a "second Redactor" distinct from the one who put together the main constituent parts of the books of Kings. This position is based on a peculiar view of the sources which are referred to in the books of Kings, and concerning which the reader will find details in CORNELY, *Introduit.*, vol. ii, part i, p. 296 sqq.; DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 186 sqq.; CLAIR, *les Livres des Rois*, p. 124 sqq.; etc.

² C. F. BURNEY, art. Kings I and II, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 857. See also VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 472.

³ This faithfulness is borne out by the close verbal agreement between IV Kings xviii, 15-xx, 19 and Isai. xxvi-xxxiv; between many parts of the books of Kings and those of Chronicles, proving that they are drawn from a common source, and also by the expression "unto this day," which, in several passages (for inst., III Kings xii, 19; IV Kings x, 27), seems to be transcribed from the documents, because, apparently no longer suitable to the writer's time (cfr. HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 861; etc.).

the books of Kings in practically their present form are the work of one compiler or editor is strengthened by the fact that the advocates of a different view find it extremely difficult to prove the existence of a later compiler. First of all, they confess that it is impossible to point out the place where additions in the form of an appendix could have been made to a former edition of those sacred writings; and next, they are obliged to admit that "the mould of this second editor is essentially the same as that of the first editor: the same Deuteronomic mode of thought is couched in the same phraseology, while in the appendix the structural method of the first editor is faithfully imitated."¹

While it thus is comparatively easy to establish the oneness of the compiler of III-IV Kings, it is really difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the precise date at which he lived. That he wrote long after most of the events recorded in his book is indeed plain from the survey of its contents and structure as given above.² But it is far from being easy to say whether he lived during the Exile, or at a time when the kingdom of Juda was still in existence and had a monarch of its own reigning in Jerusalem. On the one hand, cases are pointed out where the general formula "unto this day" seems to imply that the *writer's* day fell within the period of the Judæan monarchy,³ and where distinct expressions apparently referring to a time when the Temple was still standing are considered by many as the work of the editor of the books of Kings.⁴ On the other hand, since the fourth book concludes with Joachin's release from prison (562 B.C.), and with the statement that "all the days of his life" he enjoyed the privileges granted him by the

¹ HASTINGS, loc. cit., p. 862.

² This is also proved, according to most contemporary scholars, by the fact that the compiler was greatly influenced by the spirit and language of Deuteronomy.

³ Cfr. III Kings viii, 8; ix, 21; etc.

⁴ Cfr. III Kings viii, 29 sqq.; ix, 3.

Babylonian monarch, it is evident that the final redaction can hardly have been carried through before the middle of the 6th cent. B.C., and this is in harmony with certain passages in the body of the work, which seem likewise to presuppose the captivity of the Southern Kingdom.¹ In view of these seemingly conflicting data, recent critics who admit only one editor for our books of Kings (III-IV) are divided regarding the date of their composition. Those who consider the concluding verses of the fourth book as due to the editor's pen simply adopt the middle of the 6th century B.C. as the time when those sacred writings were compiled. Those who, on the contrary, look upon the concluding verses, and the exilic notices found in the body of the work, as introduced afterwards, admit that the compilation of the books was practically completed before the Babylonian exile (i.e. about 600 B.C.). As the grounds adduced by the advocates of either opinion do not seem to be decisive either way,² we shall not discuss them here. Suffice it to say that the view which maintains that the original text of III-IV Kings was not so absolutely settled before the Exile as to exclude all later additions has many and strong probabilities in its favor.³

§ 3. *Authorship and Historical Value of the Books of Kings.*

1. Their Authorship. The divergence of views just noted among scholars concerning the date of composition of III-IV Kings entails a corresponding divergence of views regarding their authorship. Those who admit that

¹ Cfr. III Kings iv, 24; xi, 39; IV Kings xvii, 19, 20; etc.

² Cfr. DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 198 sq.; C. F. BURNEY, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii, p. 862; HANNEBERG, *Histoire de la Révélation Biblique*, vol. i, p. 419 (French Transl.); etc.

³ As we stated elsewhere (*General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures*, p. 271 sqq.), the textual differences concerning the books of Kings in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint are so considerable as to point to the original text of those books as not perfectly settled when it was rendered into Greek for the first time.

the compilation of those writings went on during the period of the Babylonian Captivity find it comparatively easy to adopt the opinion embodied in the Talmud which regards the books of Kings as written by Jeremias.¹ Those who, on the contrary, think that the work of editing III-IV Kings was practically over about 600 B.C. prefer generally to reject the Jeremian authorship, and to say simply that the compiler of the books of Kings is really unknown.

The principal reasons urged by the numerous Catholic writers² who have embraced the first opinion are briefly as follows: (1) the affinity in language and ideas which exists between III-IV Kings and the writings of Jeremias, a reason which does not need to be insisted upon, since all contemporary critics grant that there are close resemblances in this twofold respect between our books of Kings and that prophet, but which, however striking, does not appear decisive even to Catholic scholars, who bear in mind the fact that both Jeremias and the editor of Kings belonged to much the same period, and that the latter may have been acquainted with the writings of the former;³ (2) the perfect harmony which may be pointed out in regard to narratives common to Jeremias and our books of Kings,⁴ and the practical identity noticeable between Jerem. lii and IV Kings xxiv, 18-xxv. This argument, however, is not regarded as absolutely conclusive by Clair, Vigouroux, and others, because such a harmony or even practical identity may be due to common sources of information, or to some other such cause now unknown; (3) the similar predilec-

¹ Cfr. the author's General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, p. 30, for the passage of the Talmud which affirms this Jeremian Authorship.

² Among them may be mentioned HANNBERG, VIGOUROUX, CLAIR, KAULEN, SCHOLTZ, CORNELY, LESÈTRE, etc.

³ For details, cfr. CLAIR, *les Livres des Rois*, p. 109 sqq.; see also DRIVER, *loc. cit.*, p. 203; KEIL, *Introd. to Old Test.*, vol. i, p. 260 (Engl. Transl.).

⁴ Cfr. SMITH, *Bible Dictionary*, vol. ii, p. 1551.

tion in the two writers for borrowing phrases from the Pentateuch, and for making references to earlier prophetic writings; but this predilection may, after all, be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that they both were contemporary with the discovery of the book of the Law under Josias, wrote under the direct influence of its style and teaching, and this at a time when references to literary sources were in vogue in Israel; (4) the remarkable omission of all notice in III-IV Kings of the prophet Jeremias, who played so important a part in the history of the last period of the Hebrew monarchy, and who is expressly named more than once in the far briefer account in the Chronicles:¹ this silence, it is said, is best explained by regarding Jeremias as the one who, being the author of the narrative, modestly refrained from naming himself. Yet it would be difficult to prove that the writers of the Old Testament withheld their name through modesty, while one may easily conceive how even an editor different from Jeremias, writing at a time when the hatred of the Jewish leaders was at its height² against that prophet, should have deemed it more prudent to omit altogether the name of so hated a personage; and further, the fact that Jeremias is mentioned only twice in Chronicles does not add much significance to its entire omission in the books of Kings.

While the advocates of the Jeremian authorship frankly confess that the evidences in its favor are not conclusive³ even when taken conjointly with the old Jewish tradition recorded in the Talmud regarding it, those who hold a different view usually appeal to the following arguments to prove that Jeremias is not the author of III-IV Kings:

¹ Cfr. II Chron. xxxv, 25; xxxvi, 12.

² Cfr. Jeremias xxvi, 1-11; xxxvi; xxxvii.

³ This is granted by CLAIR, VIGOUROUX, LESÊTRE, etc.

(1) the statement in III Kings iv, 24, that Solomon's dominion extended over all the country "beyond the River,"¹ that is beyond the Euphrates, implies that the writer lived in Babylonia on the eastern side of that river, and it can hardly be doubted that Jeremias, having fled into Egypt,² died without having ever resided in Babylonia;³ (2) it is not probable that Jeremias was alive when the incidents occurred which are recorded at the close of the fourth book (xxv. 27-30), for at this time the prophet would have been about *ninety* years of age; still less probable is it, as is sometimes supposed, that he would have begun the editing of such a long compilation at the outset of the Babylonian Exile so as to bring it to an end soon after Joachin was taken out of prison at Babylon in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity,⁴ for leisure, peace of mind, sources of information, etc., would have been equally wanting to Jeremias for such a purpose; (3) while the passages which resemble closely the style and ideas of Jeremias are not conclusive proofs of his being the compiler of the books of Kings, as is granted by most advocates of the Jeremian authorship, numerous expressions—some of which are decidedly characteristic of the editor of III-IV Kings—can be pointed out to positively disprove his identity with that great prophet;⁵ (4) lastly, even in the passages which are practically identical in Kings and Jeremias, as is the case with Jerem. lli and IV Kings xxiv, 18-xxv, there are such "linguistic variations combined together with differences in the accounts of matters of fact,"⁶ that these passages make

¹ It is true that the *Revised Version* renders the expression by "on this side the River," but this is plainly a mistake on the part of the translators of 1885.

² Cfr. Jerem. xliii, 6.

³ Cfr. CLAIR, *les Livres des Rois*, p. 108.

⁴ Cfr. CLAIR, *ibid.*

⁵ Cfr. C. F. BURNEY, in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 859 sqq.; Edward KÖNIG, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, p. 268 (Bonn, 1893); etc.

⁶ KEIL, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. i, p. 261; see also CLAIR, *loc. cit.*, p. 111; etc.

for diversity rather than for identity of authorship, by showing that they were borrowed from a common source by two different writers.

It must be readily granted that these and other such arguments brought forward by the opponents of the Jeremian authorship of III-IV Kings are of unequal value in favor of their position. They all go far, however, toward emphasizing the weakness which even the advocates of the Jeremian authorship recognize in their own grounds, while some of them, such, for instance, as the third argument given above, have a considerable weight in the eyes of specialists accustomed to appreciate differences in style and vocabulary.¹ But once it is admitted that Jeremias should most likely not be regarded as the author of the books of Kings, the fastening of the authorship on any other writer of that period becomes practically impossible. Fried. Bleek has indeed brought forward the name of Baruch,² Jeremias' secretary, hoping thereby to account for the well-ascertained fact that the actual compiler of those sacred writings was a man like-minded with Jeremias, and a contemporary of that prophet, who lived and wrote under the same influences. But this identification can hardly be considered as probable. Baruch went down to Egypt together with his master Jeremias,³ and apparently died there, and it is most unlikely that the books of Kings should have been compiled in that foreign country. Other scholars have suggested the names of Ezechias, Isaias, and even Esdras;⁴ but these are rough guesses based, at best, on an imperfect survey of the data of the problem, so that it is safer to maintain, with many contemporary critics, that the author is really unknown.

¹ Cfr. DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 203.

² Fried. BLEEK, *Introd. to Old Test.*, vol. i, § 156.

³ Jerem. xliii, 6.

⁴ The Esdras authorship has been propounded by HUET and CALMET, O.S.B.

2. Historical Value of the Books of Kings. The obscurity which surrounds the name, and even, to some extent, the period, of the author of III-IV Kings, does not prevent unbiassed scholars from recognizing the truly historical character of his work. From among other general grounds for their position, we shall only mention the following: (1) the narrative in the books of Kings is based on ancient sources, most of which were contemporary with the events,¹ and all of which were used with candor and truthfulness, since the compiler distinctly refers to his sources of information; (2) it is certain that the same compiler adhered closely to the text of his documents,—at least in regard to the longer narrations contained in III-IV Kings,—for his style and language vary according to the corresponding variations in his written sources, retaining even at times expressions found in them, though no longer suitable to his own time; (3) many things are simply stated which are disgraceful to the nation and to its most prominent men, “and the speeches which are recorded agree more accurately with the characters and situations of the speakers than could be expected in a fiction or a revised and altered composition”;² (4) the compiler’s “conscientious scrupulousness in relation to chronology is apparent to such an extent that the numbers assigned to the reigns of Israel and Juda do not agree with one another. Instead of removing such discrepancies and so introducing full harmony into the chronology of the two kingdoms, he has allowed them to remain: this is a proof of his closely following the materials at his disposal;”³ (5) the general credibility of the narrative in III-IV Kings

¹ This practical contemporaneousness of the sources utilized may also be admitted for the narratives which detail the miraculous deeds of Elias and Eliseus, despite the assertions of many scholars to the contrary. (For details, see JAHN, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, p. 269; and, chiefly, CLAIR, *les Livres des Rois*, pp. 164-187.)

² JAHN, *loc. cit.*, p. 266.

³ Samuel DAVIDSON, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. ii, p. 39 sq. (London, 1862).

is confirmed by a comparison with the parallel accounts in the books of Chronicles, which were apparently drawn from the same sources of information ;¹ (6) it is especially in view of the historical character of the books of Kings that we have made elsewhere² the following remarks : " While the sacred writers tell us simply of the events in which their nation is concerned, and only in so far as it is concerned in them, their statements harmonize so perfectly with the accounts of the same events as made known to us by newly-discovered inscriptions that both sources of information are usually found to complete each other. It will be remembered, for instance, that in IV Kings iii we have the following brief notice concerning Mesa, King of Moab, in the time of Achab, who was the son of Amri, and his successor upon the throne of Israel : ' Mesa, King of Moab, was a sheep-master and paid to the King of Israel a hundred thousand lambs and a hundred thousand rams, with their fleeces.' This was plainly an enormous impost upon so small a country as the territory of Moab ; so that we find it only natural when we read in the following verse that ' when Achab was dead ' (slain on a Syrian battle-field : III Kings xxii, 35) ' the King of Moab,' thinking it a favorable opportunity, ' rebelled against the King of Israel,' i.e. refused to pay him so exorbitant a tribute. If we now turn to the monument, known as the Moabite stone, which was discovered in 1868, and which gives Mesa's own account of his relations with Israel, we find it not only confirms the fact of that rebellion, but furnishes further information as to its issues and results ; while, on the other hand, the Biblical narrative gives a clue to its cause, of which the Moabite inscription says nothing. In like manner, many of the rebellions of the Jewish kings against the suzerainty of Assyria,

¹ We shall deal with this point in our next chapter on " The Chronicles."

² " Biblical Lectures," p. 52 sqq. (Baltimore, 1901).

which are simply stated as facts in the Biblical narrative, find their natural completion in those inscriptions which make known to us something of the general conditions of the time; by their means we can see that, in withholding tribute, the rulers of Palestine were simply availing themselves of the serious difficulties with which the Assyrian monarchs had to contend either at home or abroad.”

The last-mentioned ground in favor of the historical value of the books of Kings could be easily enlarged upon, with the result that the Biblical narrative would be found reliable on countless points, sometimes in the most unexpected manner, and very often in regard to minute details simply mentioned in passing. But as we have carried out at least in part, in a preceding volume,¹ the work of comparison between our sacred writings and the numerous Assyrian inscriptions so far examined by specialists, and as we do not see our way to enter here into further details concerning this important and interesting point, we must be satisfied with affirming that the narratives in III–IV Kings have a full right to be treated with as much consideration and honor as the works of Livy, Polybius and Tacitus, whose statements are relied on implicitly.²

This should not, however, be taken to mean that the plentiful materials supplied by Assyriology have enabled scholars to dispose entirely of all the objections urged against the history contained in our sacred records. Ob-

¹ “Outlines of Jewish History” (New York, 1897). Cfr. also H. A. HARPER, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*, chaps. vii, viii; VIGOUROUX, *Bible et Découvertes Modernes* (vol. iv); A. H. SAYCE, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, chap. ix sqq.; E. SCHRADER, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*; R. KITTEL, *A History of the Hebrews*, vol. ii; etc.

² There is no need of dwelling on the objection against the historical value of the books of Kings which Rationalists draw from the miraculous deeds of Elias and Eliseus recorded therein. It is chiefly due to their theological bias against supernatural occurrences. And further, even supposing that such accounts could be regarded as legends gradually formed concerning these two great prophets of Israel, it is plainly unfair to construe them into arguments against the historical value of the entire narrative.

scurities and difficulties are to be found in historical works of the highest standing, and should be frankly recognized by the student of Historical Criticism. In point of fact, the main difficulty against the chronology given in the Biblical record arises from the apparently-ascertained data supplied by the newer discoveries. Research has brought to light very complete lists of Assyrian rulers (*eponyms*, as they are usually named) after whom the years were reckoned, and from these and the so-called canon of Ptolemy, which mentions eclipses and other astronomical phenomena, a well-defined system of chronology of the principal events in Assyrian history has been framed, which can be easily compared with the Biblical system of chronology. Upon comparison, it is found that, while the two systems agree in regard to the date of the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.), they diverge more or less widely both before and after that event. It is not necessary that we should enter here into the many intricacies of that difficult problem, the full solution of which will probably never be reached. On the one hand, the Assyrian inscriptions cannot be taken as absolutely faultless, their exact meaning cannot at times be perfectly ascertained, etc.; while, on the other hand, the figures given by the books of Kings may have been modified in the course of centuries of transcription, and in many cases may represent only approximate and round numbers, etc. One should not therefore hastily conclude that the comparison between Biblical and Assyriological data implies real contradictions; but rather maintain with H. Lesêtre and other contemporary scholars that "in all that concerns the chronology of the Royal Period only a general accuracy, and not a mathematical precision altogether foreign to ancient history, should be expected."¹

¹ H. LESÊTRE, *Introduction à l'Etude de l'Ecriture Sainte*, vol. ii, p. 267. For details cfr., beside the *Cyclopædias* or *Dictionaries* edited by VIGOUROUX, HASTINGS, CHEYNE-BLACK, the works of SCHRADER, SAYCE, KITTEL, H. A. HARPER, etc., already referred to.

Remarks of the same general import may be made in regard to another difficulty connected likewise with the Biblical chronology and already touched upon in passing: the numbers assigned to the reigns of Israel and Juda do not agree with one another. Thus, from the contemporaneous accession of Roboam and Jeroboam to the contemporaneous deaths of Ochozias of Juda and Joram of Israel, by the hand of Jehu, the united reigns in Israel amount to 98 years, in Juda to 95; from the contemporaneous accession of Jehu and Athalia to the fall of Samaria in the 6th year of Ezechias the united reigns in Israel amount to 143 years and 7 months, in Juda to 165 years, and the synchronistic notices in the later part of that period are not only disturbed by this discrepancy, but are at times self-contradictory.¹ Of these two periods the second alone offers serious difficulties, for the removal of which various theories have been put forward. Appeal has been made to corruption of the original text; but of such corruption we have no trace in any of the various readings of the ancient Versions. Interregna in Israel have been imagined to account for the smaller sum of its reigns as compared with the total of those of Juda; but these interregna cannot be located with anything like real probability in the series of the Northern rulers. Recourse has then been had to a common Oriental custom, in virtue of which some kings in Juda may have acceded to power during their fathers' reigns as coadjutors or substitutes, and it must be added that this is likely enough during this period in two cases.² But even this supposition, while accounting for the discrepancy in the collective duration of the reigns in the two lines, does not correct the confusion of the synchronistic notices. And the same thing must be

¹ See, for instance, IV Kings xiv, 23; xv, 1, 8; III Kings xvi, 23, 29; etc. In regard to these chronological differences see, beside the authors just referred to, CLAIR, *les Livres des Rois*, p. 114 sqq.

² Cfr. IV Kings xiv, 13 sqq.; xv, 5.

said in regard to another supposition which has been set forth reckoning, after the Hebrew manner, any part of a year as a year, for the divergences in the synchronistic notices are too great to be explained in this wise. It must therefore be frankly admitted with Fr. Vigouroux that "the chronology of the royal period is not ascertained; it varies with the various authors. The system generally received is arbitrary, supposing as it does that there occurred in Israel one or two interregna of which the Biblical record makes no mention. Such hypothetical interregna perhaps point—as apparently also does the very long life which is ascribed to the prophets of the time—to the fact that this chronology is decidedly too long."¹

Be all this as it may, these chronological divergences, which after all may be due to the conscientious scrupulousness of the compiler to give us exactly what he had in his sources of information,² "are really of very little importance (from a purely historical standpoint) except to a professed chronologist; and no candid critic can regard them as affecting the authenticity of a historical narrative."³ Finally, it is certainly in view of such chronological difficulties that Prof. Schanz, in his "Christian Apology,"⁴ wrote the following words: "In such matters as profane science and profane history the sacred writers leave the responsibility of borrowed statements to the source whence they drew them, or follow a common and well-recognized way of thinking and speaking. If any one should here think it is his duty to protest against the supposition that God could have been the occasion of an erroneous chronology, his contention would only show a mistaken notion of inspiration."

¹ VIGOUROUX, quoted by LESÊTRE, *Introd. à l'Etude de l'Ecriture Sainte*, vol. ii, p. 265.

² Cfr. Samuel DAVIDSON, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. ii, p. 39 sq.

³ Geo. RAWLINSON, in the "Speaker's Bible," vol. ii, p. 480.

⁴ Vol. ii, p. 434 (Engl. Transl., 1896). See also the author's "General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," p. 538 sq.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER X.

THE BOOKS OF PARALIPOMENON, OR CHRONICLES.....	291

<p>I. NAMES AND POSITION IN THE CANON :</p>	<p>1. Names: "The Words of the Days"; <i>Παραλειπομένων</i>; Chronicles.</p> <p>2. Position in the Hebrew Bible, in the Septuagint, Vulgate, and English Versions.</p>
<p>II. CHIEF CON- TENTS:</p>	<p>Pointed out: {</p> <p>1. Introductory Résumé (I Chron. i-ix).</p> <p>2. The History Proper: (I Chron. x-xi; — II Chron. xxxvi). {</p> <p>David (I Chron. x-xxix).</p> <p>Solomon (II Chron. i-ix).</p> <p>Subsequent kings of Juda (II Chron. x-xxxvi).</p> <p>Compared with those of Genesis-Kings.</p>
<p>III. PURPOSE AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION:</p>	<p>Purpose: {</p> <p>Not merely Historical and Supplementary.</p> <p>Priestly-Levitical Object chiefly Prominent.</p> <p>Sources of Information: {</p> <p>Close Affinity to Genesis-Kings, which are not referred to by the Chronicler.</p> <p>The Principal Sources actually referred to briefly Examined.</p>
<p>IV. HISTORICAL VALUE:</p>	<p>1. Principal Difficulties urged against it.</p> <p>2. General Arguments in its Favor.</p> <p>3. The Chronicler's Standpoint in thorough Harmony with the Circumstances of his Time.</p>

CHAPTER X.

THE BOOKS OF PARALIPOMENON, OR CHRONICLES.

§ 1. *Name and Position in the Canon.*

1. Name. In his "Prologus Galeatus,"¹ St. Jerome writes as follows concerning the title of these two books: "Septimus [Liber], *Dibre hajamin*, id est *Verba dierum*, quod significantius *Chronicon* totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare; qui liber apud nos *Paralipomenon* primus et secundus inscribitur." These concise words point out (1) the Hebrew heading, "Dibhre Hayyamim," an expression which occurs frequently in the books of Kings with the meaning *annals*, or *records*, of such and such a king (lit., *the acts of the days of*, etc.);² (2) the Greek title *Παραλειπομένων*, which is used in the Septuagint, whence it passed into the Old Latin and Vulgate translations, and the usual interpretation of which is of *things passed over*, by Samuel and Kings, although this meaning is in harmony neither with the present tense of the participle (*τὰ Παραλειπούμενα*), nor with the real contents of the books under consideration; (3) the name suggested by St. Jerome, who describes those books as "a chronicle of the whole of sacred history," and adopted under the form of "Chronicles" as the usual title by the Protestant translations; on the whole, the English word *Chronicles* is a fairly good rendering of the Hebrew

¹ Or "Preface to the Books of Kings" (MIGNE, Patr. Lat., vol. xxviii, col. 555).

² Cfr. for inst., III Kings xi. 41; xv, 23; IV Kings viii, 23; etc., etc.

Dibhre hayyamim.¹ The same words of St. Jerome bear witness to the fact that Paralipomenon, or Chronicles, formed originally a single undivided work: "*liber septimus*," according to his method of reckoning—a fact which is confirmed by the Massoretic note in the Hebrew Bible, stating that I Chron. xxvii, 25 is the middle verse of the whole book.² The present division into two books originated with the Septuagint translators, from whom it was adopted by the Old Latin version, by St. Jerome in the Vulgate, and so passed into the other translations and the modern printed editions of the Hebrew Old Testament.

2. Position in the Canon. In the Septuagint, Vulgate, and English Versions the books of Paralipomenon, or Chronicles,³ come immediately after Samuel and Kings. This arrangement is due to similarity of contents, for both sets of writings have a distinctly historical aim and are chiefly concerned with the history of the Hebrew monarchy. In the Hebrew Text, where the sacred books are not arranged according to their general topic, Chronicles are placed, as one book, in the third division of the Old Testament canon, viz., the *K^ethubhim*, the *Writings* (or *Hagiographa*), either at the beginning (so in the Massoretic lists and in Spanish MSS.) or at the end (so in the Talmud, treatise *Baba batra*, usually in German MSS., and from these in printed Hebrew Bibles) rarely in some other position, for inst., third after Danie. and Esdras.⁴ Their position after Esdras and Nehemias is certainly unnatural, for several reasons which will be given in the sequel, while the very fact

¹ This Hebrew phrase is rendered by "Chronicles" in Douay Version (I Chron. xxvii, 24).

² In the Hebrew MSS. the books of Chronicles form invariably a continuous work.

³ We shall use indiscriminately both names in the sequel.

⁴ Cfr. Francis BROWN, art. Chronicles in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. i, p. 388. In St. Jerome's enumeration (*Prolog. Galeatus*) Chronicles are placed third from the end, probably without MSS. authority.

that they are numbered among the Hagiographa seems to point to a late date as the one at which they were recognized as canonical.¹

§ 2. *Chief Contents of Chronicles.*

1. Chief Contents pointed out. The books of Paralipomenon begin with Adam "after the manner of later Semitic historians,"² and end abruptly in the middle of Cyrus' decree of Restoration in behalf of the Jewish people. They contain two great parts, the one *Introductory*, comprising I Chron. i-ix, the other the *History proper*, extending from I Chron. x-II Chron. xxxvi.

The Introductory part is almost entirely in the form of genealogical lists, beginning "Adam, Seth, Enos," coming down through the sons of Noe, and then particularly through the line of Sem to Esau and Israel and their sons, with their descendants. Brief historical notices are interspersed among the genealogies,³ and the last genealogy given in ix, 35-44—certainly a duplicate of viii, 29-38—serves as a transition to the History proper. This second part comprises three distinct sections as follows: (1) the history of David's rule⁴ introduced by the narrative of Saul's last battle and death,⁵ and concluded by the accession of Solomon, David's son and immediate successor; ⁶ (2) the history of Solomon's reign recorded in the first nine chapters of the second book of Paralipomenon; (3) the history of the kingdom of Juda down to the destruction of

¹ As the Greek historian Eupolemus (wrote about 150 B.C.) knew the Septuagint translation of Paralipomenon, the books of Chronicles must have been considered as canonical at latest about 200 B.C. (Cfr. Emile SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People*, Division II, vol. iii, p. 162.)

² DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 517.

³ Cfr., for inst., ii, 23; iv, 9, 10, 39-43; v, 9, 10, 18-22; etc.

⁴ I Chron. x-xxix.

⁵ I Chron. x.

⁶ Cfr. I Chron. xxiii, 1; xxviii, 5; xxix, 22 sqq

Jerusalem,¹ with the disruption of Solomon's empire as Preface,² and the Edict of Restoration as Conclusion,³ or rather as Introduction to the history in Esdras and Nehemias, for the part of the Edict which is quoted in the last verses of II Chronicles is given again at the beginning of I Esdras, and the unfinished sentence closing the second book of Paralipomenon is completed in I Esdras i, 3^d.

2. Contents of Chronicles compared with those of Genesis-Kings. As might naturally be expected from two sets of writings composed by ancient Oriental authors, and covering practically one and the same period of Hebrew history, I-II Chronicles and Genesis-Kings exhibit numerous and important resemblances. There is, first of all, a great deal of historical matter common to both series, as may easily be realized by comparing the general contents of Chronicles, just pointed out, with those of Genesis-Kings as given in the foregoing chapters. In the second place, as granted by many contemporary scholars, both series are constructed upon the same general plan. No entire book in either series consists of a single, original work; but every one of them⁴ is the result of compilation from older writings or sources of information. In the third place, most of the agreement discoverable between Chronicles and Genesis-Kings is not simply that substantial conformity which exists naturally between independent works covering the same period of history; it is also that close textual relationship which is easily recognized between writings copied the one from the other or compiled from common sources.

¹ II Chron. x-xxxvi.

² II Chron. x.

³ II Chron. xxxvi, 22-23.

⁴ Except Ruth, which, in the Hebrew Bible, is not numbered in the first, but in the third, part of the sacred writings.

Side by side with these and other such general resemblances, there are notable differences between Chronicles and the preceding historical books. Prominent among these may be mentioned (1) the conciseness of the genealogical and statistical registers embodied in I Chron. i-ix, as compared with the parallel passages more or less widely scattered through Genesis-Judges; (2) the very numerous and significant additions, omissions, and variations in style, dialect, representation, etc., exhibited by the text of I Chron. x-II Chron. xxxvi, when compared carefully with that of Samuel-Kings. Of course, minute particulars concerning those resemblances and differences, together with the inferences which they naturally suggest, can only be realized by a word-for-word comparison of both series of writings, a comparison which the student is strongly advised to make for himself,¹ and for the carrying out of which he may profitably use the following synopsis drawn up by Prof. Driver (Introduct. to Literat. of Old Test., p. 519 sqq.).² It exhibits the passages common to Chronicles and to Genesis-Kings, together with the more important additions and omissions brought to light by a comparison of the two texts.

¹ This comparison can be best pursued by means of JAHN's Hebrew Bible (4 vols. 8vo, 1806), which gives the books of Chronicles in fragments, mostly in parallel with other books. The student not familiar with Hebrew may carry out easily the same work of comparison as far as the second part of Chronicles is concerned, by the use of Rob. GIRDLESTONE's Deuterographs (Oxford, 1894), wherein an English translation of the matter common to Chronicles and Samuel-Kings is printed in parallel columns, and the relationship between the two texts is brought clearly to the eye by short headings which indicate insertions between section and section; by square brackets which point out additions found in the body of one section as compared with the other; by dots to mark omissions; and by italics to denote variations in style, representation, etc.

² DRIVER's synopsis is given without any change beside that of substituting the spelling of the proper names which is found in the Vulgate for that used in the Protestant translations of the Old Testament.

Part I. Preliminary History (I Chron. 1-934).

Chap. 1-2. *The pedigree of Juda* :—

The patriarchal period,	Chap. 1.	{ See Gen. 5, 10, 11, 25, 36.
The 12 sons of Israel,	21-2.	Gen. 3523-26.
The 5 sons of Juda (Phares, Zara, etc.), . .	23-4.	{ 383-7. 29f., Nu. 2619f.,
The sons of Phares, viz. Hesron and Hamul,	{ 25.	Gen. 4612, Nu. 2621.
The sons of Zare,	26-8.	Josue 71; 1 Ki. 431.
The descendants of Hesron—(a) through Ram, leading down to <i>David</i> , v. 10-17; (b) through Calubi (= Caleb), v. 18-24; (c) through Jerameel, v. 25-41,	{ 29-41.	{ With v. 5. 9-12 comp. Ru. 419-21; with v. 13-17, 1 S. 166-9, 2 S. 218 1725.
An appendix, largely geographical, relating to localities inhabited by descendants of Caleb, (a) directly, v. 42-49; (b) through his son Hur, v. 50-55,	{ 242-55.	

C. 3. *The family and descendants of David* :—

David's children,	31-9.	2 S. 32-5 514-16.
David's descendants—		
(a) The kings of Juda,	310-16.	1-2 Kings.
(b) The descendants of Jechonias (Joiachin), extending to some generations after the return,	{ 317-24.	

C. 4-7. *Notices respecting the genealogies, history, and military strength of the several tribes* :—

Juda (including particulars respecting <i>localities</i> , esp. those prominent after the exile),	{ 41-23.	
Simeon,	{ 424. 425-27. 428-83. 434-43.	{ Gen. 4610, Ex. 615, Nu. 2612f., Josue 193-8.
Ruben, Gad, and the E. half of Manasses, . .	51-26.	{ V. 3 : Gen. 469, Nu. 265f.,
Levi—		
High priests from Sadoc to Josedec (B.C. 586), with their pedigree from Aaron,* . .	{ 61-15.	{ V. 1-3 : Gen. 4611, Ex. 616. 18. 20, Nu. 32 etc.
Genealogies : viz. (a) two parallel, but in part divergent, pedigrees, connecting David's three chief singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, with the three Leviti- cal families of Gerson, Caath, and Me- rari, v. 16-30 and 31-48; (b) the line of chief priests to the time of Solomon, v. 49-53 (= v. 4-8),	{ 6 6-53.	{ V. 16-19. 22 : Ex. 6 16-24. V. 26-28. 33-35 : 1 S. 1 ¹ 82.
Cities of priests and Levites,	654-81.	{ Josue 2110-19. 5-9. 20-39.

* Several of the persons here named are not mentioned in the preceding historical books. On the other hand, the old and famous line which held the priesthood under Samuel and David—Eli, Phinees, Achitob, Achimelech, Abiathar—is not noticed.

The remaining tribes (except Benjamin), . . .	7.	{ Cf. Gen. 4613 etc., Nu. 2623f., etc.
Benjamin—(a) generally, . . .	81-32.	
(b) Pedigree of a family descended from } Saul, }	833-40.	{ V. 33f. : 1 S. 1449-51, 2 S. 28 44 912.
91-34. <i>Principal families resident in Jerusalem after the restoration :—</i>		
Constitution of the restored community, . .	91-2.	{ Cf. Esd. 270 = Neh. 773a : Neh. 113b.
Families resident in Jerusalem, arranged by } classes (laity, priests, Levites, gate-keep- } ers), }	93-17a.	Neh. 114-19a.
Particulars respecting the <i>gate-keepers</i> , . .	917b-26a.	
Duties of the <i>Levites</i> ,	926b-32.	
Two subscriptions (to v. 14-16; 14-32), . .	933-34.	

Part II. *Juda under the monarchy* (I Chron. 935-II Chron. 36).

Saul's family (repeated from 829-38), . . .	I. 935-44.	
Circumstances of Saul's death, }	101-12. 1013-14.	1 S. 31.
David made king at Hebron : conquest of } Jerusalem, }	111-9.	2 S. 51-3. 6-10.
List of David's heroes, with notices of their } exploits, }	1110-41a. 1141b-47.	2 S. 238-39.
Warriors who joined David in Saul's reign,	121-22.	.....
Warriors who assisted at David's election as } king, }	1223-40.	.....
The Ark brought from Cariathiarim to the } house of Obed-edom, }	131-5. 136-14.	2 S. 61,* 62-11.
Hiram assists David : David's sons, . . .	141-7.	511-16.
David's victories over the Philistines, . . . }	148-16. 1417.	517-25.
The Ark removed from the house of Obed- } edom to Sion : description of the ceremo- } nial, }	151-24. 1525-163. 164-42. 1643.	..... 612b-19a,† 619b-20a.
Prophecy of Nathan,	c. 17.	2 S. 7.
David's wars : list of ministers,	c. 18.	2 S. 8.
War with the Ammonites, }	191-19. 201-3.	2 S. 101-19, 111. 26 1: 30f.
Exploits of David's heroes,	I 204-8.	2 S. 2118-22.
David's census of the people; the pestilence: } his purchase of the threshing-floor of } Ornan, }	211-4a. 214b; 5. 216-7. 218-27. 2128-221.	241-4a. 244b-8; ‡ 9. 2410b-25.

222-c. 29. *David's arrangements for the construction of the Temple and the maintenance of public service, and for his army :—*

Instructions to Solomon,	222-19.	.....
Numbers (38,000), families, and duties of the } Levites, }	c. 23.	.....
The 24 courses of priests,	241-19.	.....
Heads of the families of Canthites and Mera- } rites enumerated in 2316-23, }	2420-31.	.....

* Expanded.

† With alterations.

‡ Abridged.

The 24 courses of singers (4 referred to the sons of Asaph, 6 to the sons of Idithun, 10 to the sons of Heman),	c. 25.	
The courses of the gate-keepers,	261-19.	
Overseers of Temple-treasures,	2620-28.	
Levitical officers engaged outside the Temple,	2629-32.	
The 12 divisions of the army,	271-15.	
Princes of the tribes (Gad and Ruben not named),	2716-24.	
The 12 superintendents of David's personal possessions, and his ministers,	2725-34.	
David's last instructions to his people and to Solomon,	c. 28.	
Offerings made in response to his invitation,	291-9,	
David's prayer of thanksgiving: Solomon confirmed as king: death of David,	2910-22, 2923a. 27, 2923b-26, 2928-30. } 1 K. 212a. 11.	
Solomon's offering at Gabaon: his dream,	II 11-2, 13a, 13b-6a, 16b-13. } 34a.	
Solomon's horses and chariots,	114-17. 1026-29, 55a. 15f, 52-9; cf. 511 714.	
Preparations for building the Temple, and correspondence with Hiram,	21-2. 18, 23-16. } 52-9; cf. 511 714.	
The Temple, with the two pillars in front of it,	217.	
The sacred vessels, and the court. The Temple completed,	II 31-13, 314, 315-17. } 1 K. 61-3. 15-35. ‡	
The Ark taken into the Temple,	41, 42-5, 46-51, 52-11a, 511b-13a, 513b-14. } 723-26, 738-51, 1 K. 81-10a, 810b-11.	
The prayer of dedication,	61-39, 640-42. } 812-50a.	
Conclusion of the ceremony,	71-3, 74-5. 7-10, 76. } 862-66.	
Jehovah's answer to Solomon,	711-12b _a , 712b _β -16 (to chosen). } 91-3a.	
Particulars respecting the organization of Solomon's empire,	716-22. 93c-9, cf. 910-11.	
Visit of the Queen of Saba. Solomon's magnificence and wealth,	81-2, 83. 4b. 11b, 84a. 5-11a, 812-16, 817-18. } 917b-24a, 925, 926-28.	
Revolt of the Ten Tribes,	91-24, 925-26, 927-28, 929, 930-31. } 101-25, 1026b 426. 21a, 1027-28.	
	c. 10. 121-19.	

Hostilities stopped by Semeaias,	111-4.	122-24.
	115-121.	.....
	122a.	1425.
	122b-9a _a.	.....
Roboam's reign,	129a _β -11.13.	1426-28. 21.
	1212. 14-15a.	.....
	1215b. 16.	1430. 31a. c.
Abia,	131-2.	151-2. 7b.
	133-22.	.....
	141a. 2.	158. 11.
	143-5.	1512.
Asa,	146-1515.	.....
	1516-166.	1513-22.
	167-11.	.....
	1612-14.	1523b-24a.
	II 171a.	1 K 1524b.
	171b-19.	.....
	c. 18.	221-35a.
	191-2030.	.....
Josaphat,	2031-33a.	2241-43a.
	2033b-34.	.....
	37a.b _a.	.....
	2035-36.	.....
	37b _β .	2248-49.
	211.	2250.
	212-4.	.....
Joram,	215-10a.	2 K. 817-22.
	2110b-19.	.....
	2120.	817. 24a.
	221-6.	824b-29
Ochozias,	227-9.	c. 9-10.
Athalia,	2210-2321.	111-20.
	241-14a.	1121-1214.
	2414b-22.	.....
Joas,	2423-26.	1217f. 20f.
	251-4.	142-6.
	255-11a.	.....
	2511b.	147a.
	2512-16.	.....
Amasias,	2517-20a _a.	.....
	2521-24.	148-14.
	2525. 27a _β -28.	1417. 19f.
	261-4.	1421f. 152f.
	265-20b _a.	.....
Ozias,	2620b _β -21. 23.	155. 7.
	271-2a _a . 3a.	1533-34. 35b.
	272a _β b. 3b-7.	.....
Joathan,	279.	1538.
	281-4.	162-4.
	285-15.	165.
	2816. 17. 20-25.	cf. 166b-17.
Achaz,	2818-19.	.....
	2827.	1620.
	291-2.	181b-3.
	293-3121.	184-7a.
	321.	cf. 1813.
	322 8.	.....
Ezechias,	329-21.	1817-1937.
	3222-23.	.....
	3224-33.	c. 20.

Manasses,	{ II 331-10. 20. 2 K. 211-10. 18 3311-19.
Amon,	{ 321-25. 2119-24. 341-2. 221-2. 343-7. [234-20.] 348-12a. 223-6. 7b. 3412a-14.
Josias,	{ 3415-31. 228-233a. 3432-33. 351-19. 2321-23. 3520-25. 2329-30a.
Joachaz,	361-4. 2330b. 31. 33f.
Joachin,	365-8. 2336-246.
Joachin,	369-10. 248-17.
Sedecias,	3611-21. 2418-2521.
Decree of Cyrus,	3622-23. Esdras 11-3a.

§ 3. *Purpose and Sources of Information.*

1. Purpose of the Books of Paralipomenon.

Although the foregoing synopsis tabulates only the most important results of a comparison between Chronicles and Genesis-Kings, yet it supplies a sufficient basis for distinct inferences concerning the actual purpose of the Chronicler. His purpose must have been historical, else he would not have told over again so many incidents which form upwards of forty sections of greater or less compass, parallel to those in Samuel-Kings. This historical object was furthermore a limited one, as compared with that of the whole series Genesis-Kings. This is plain from such facts as his total silence concerning the period of the Judges, the great conciseness of his narrative before David's rule, the entire omission of the history of the Northern Kingdom after the disruption of Solomon's empire, etc. Hence it is that St. Jerome's description of Chronicles as the "veteris instrumenti epitome"¹ is more true to fact than that embodied in the Septuagint, τὰ Παραλειπόμενα, understood as denoting a work the purpose of which would chiefly be to supplement the contents of the preceding historical books.²

¹ Epistle to Paulinus, Patr. Lat., vol. 22, col. 548.

² Cfr. CORNELY, Introductio, vol. ii, part i, p. 319 sq.

It is indeed true that many a time the Chronicler supplies details either unknown to, or omitted by, the compilers of Samuel-Kings; but when his additions are closely examined, they are found to point to a purpose different from that of merely completing the narrative of his predecessors. Very often they relate to the organization of public worship, or describe religious ceremonies, especially with reference to the part taken in them by levites and singers,¹ and in this way bespeak what has been called the *priestly-levitical* purpose of the Chronicler. As a matter of fact, it is plain from the beginning to the end of the history proper² that the compiler composes his record from that priestly-levitical standpoint. Thus, while he omits a large number of David's personal and private deeds, however important they might appear from the point of view of pure history, he sets forth with intentional fulness and manifest emphasis all that concerns a monarch whom he regards as the true founder of Sion and the Temple with its public service of music and song, and as the primal author of the priestly and levitical organization.³ In like manner his narrative of Solomon's reign contains a full description of whatever relates to religion and its ministers; in fact, the account of the building and dedication of the Temple takes up almost the whole of the Chronicler's history concerning that prince.⁴ After the division of Solomon's empire, the Northern Kingdom is almost entirely ignored by the Chronicler, because founded upon apostasy from the orthodox worship in Jerusalem; while in regard to the Southern Kingdom the reigns of Asa, Josaphat, Joas, Ezechias, and Josias are made especially prominent, because they inaugurated important religious

¹ Compare, for inst., I Chron. xiii, 1-5; xv, 1-24; xvi, 4-42; most of chaps. xxii-xxix; II Chron. viii, 13-15; xxxv, 1-17; etc., etc.

² I Chron. x-II Chron. xxxvi.

³ Cfr. I Chron. xiii-xviii; xxii-xxix.

⁴ Cfr. II Chron. ii-vii.

reforms and witnessed the restoration of the Holy City and its sanctuary to their right rank as the religious centre of the chosen people.¹

It is likewise true that, together with the priestly-levitical purpose, a *didactic* aim may also be noticed. "In many cases the Chronicler's additions show a tendency to refer events to their *moral* causes—to represent, for instance, a great calamity or deliverance as the punishment of wickedness or the reward of virtue. This feature is especially noticeable in the case of discourses attributed to prophets. The prophets in the Chronicles are, far more frequently than in the earlier historical books, brought into relation with the *Kings*, to whom they predict good or ill success in accordance with their deserts, with much conformity of expression, and in a tone very different from that of the prophets who appear in the books of Samuel or Kings."² But time and again it is clear that this didactic aim is subservient to the priestly-levitical purpose, inasmuch as predictions of good or ill fortune, actual punishments or rewards are represented as dependent on faithfulness or unfaithfulness to God's legitimate worship among the Jews;³ and in so far this confirms the theory generally held by Biblical scholars, that the purpose of the Chronicler is chiefly ecclesiastical.

Another confirmation of the same view is found in the short additions or omissions which the compiler of Chronicles introduced into the passages he extracted either from our books of Samuel and Kings, or from common documents. Very often the additions consist in brief notices relating to ritual, or the part taken by the levites, singers,

¹ Cfr. A. DILLMANN, art. Chronicles, in SCHAFF-HERZOG, Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge, vol. i; Samuel DAVIDSON, Introd. to the Old Test., vol. ii, p. 92 sqq.; Francis BROWN, art. Chronicles, in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. i, p. 392 sqq.

² DRIVER, Introd. to Literat. of Old Test., p. 526. Cfr. I Chron. x, 13, 14; xv, 13; II Chron. xii, 2, 5-8; xvi, 7-10; xix, 1-3; xxvi, 16-20; etc

³ Cfr. particularly I Chron. x, 13; II Chron. xvi, 7-10; xxvi, 16-20; etc.

etc.;¹ while sometimes they are obviously intended to justify the offering of sacrifices elsewhere than at the one legitimate place enjoined by the Mosaic law.² In like manner many short omissions distinctly make for the same priestly-levitical object. This is notably the case with the frequent omission in II Chronicles of the clause: "Nevertheless the high places were not taken away: for the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places,"³ which the writer of the books of Kings freely used after he had stated that a Jewish monarch "did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh," but which the Chronicler set aside apparently because such a statement would have gone directly against his chief purpose, viz., that of urging upon his contemporaries strict adherence to the worship of Yahweh in Jerusalem and its Temple as the sole place of His choice.

2. Sources of Information. Whoever will regard as the chief purpose of the Chronicler the one just indicated will readily admit as antecedently probable that to carry it out he would avail himself of Genesis-Kings as the most authoritative source of information. These sacred books had long been in existence, were very likely within the Chronicler's reach, and would furnish him with an inexhaustible supply of appropriate examples for bringing home to his readers the teaching that the glory of the chosen people lay in the observance of the divine law and ritual. In point of fact, most contemporary scholars think that several things suggested by the comparison of Chronicles with the preceding historical books prove that the compiler of Paralipomenon utilized Genesis-Kings. They tell us, for instance, that the sources used for the composition of

¹ Cfr. I Chron. xv, 27, 28; II Chron. v. 11-13; vii, 6; viii, 13-15; etc.

² Cfr. I Chron. xxi, 29; xxii, 1; II Chron. i. 3-6.

³ Cfr. II Chron. xxiv, 2; xxv, 2; xxvii, 2. That this is a deliberate omission on the Chronicler's part is proved by a careful comparison of such passages as II Chron. xiv, 2-5; xx, 33; etc., with the parallel ones in the books of Kings.

I Chron. i-ix are clearly genealogical lists found in Genesis-Josue and occasionally in Samuel, which the Chronicler compresses more or less according to his purpose, but never refers to explicitly. As regards I Chron x-II Chron. xxxvi, they bid us remember (1) that upwards of forty sections of larger or smaller compass, and similar in respect of order and choice of material, are to be found common to the Chronicler and to the author of Samuel-Kings; (2) that the matter which is peculiar to Chronicles shows the marked characteristics of the compiler's style, in sharp contrast with those of the matter corresponding to that of Samuel and Kings; (3) that many passages not only correspond exactly as to their general wording with those in Samuel-Kings, but even appear modified simply because of the Chronicler's standpoint and style, so that nothing remains in the passages themselves to show that they come from an earlier source;¹ lastly, (4) that "a special class of passages consists of those which are appropriate in Samuel and Kings, but have become unfitting or meaningless because of omissions by the Chronicler."²

In spite of these and other such arguments usually urged to prove that the Chronicler drew from our canonical books of Genesis-Kings directly, some leading scholars³ still maintain the opposite view, chiefly on the following grounds: (1) the circumstance that both narratives agree with each other, and have parallel sections only when both cite their sources; (2) the fact that oftentimes the arrangement of materials is different in both works; (3) the absolute silence of the Chronicler in reference to Genesis-Kings, though he

¹ Compare especially II Chron. xx. 10-xxiv. 14, with IV Kings xi, 1-xii, 16.

² Francis BROWN, art. *Chronicles*, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 395. The principal passages which Prof. Brown points out as of this description are I Chron. xiv. 3-7; xx, 1; II Chron. viii, 11; x. 2. 15; xxxii, 18.

³ VIGOUROUX (*Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 505 footn.), GIRDLESTONE (*Foundations of the Bible*), CLAIR, Francis BROWN (*loc. cit.*), etc.

is very careful to mention non-canonical, and consequently less authoritative, sources of information; (4) as well stated by Prof. Brown,¹ "the Chronicler's main interests are not political, and he omits or greatly condenses many matters which do not contribute much to his purposes. At the same time some of his material not found in Samuel and Kings is of a political and personal nature, for inst., the fortifications of Roboam, and his might and wisdom;² Asa's war with the Ethiopians;³ Josaphat's war with Moab, Ammon, and Edom.⁴ . . . Some of these narratives the Chronicler uses to point his own moral teachings, but it is most unlikely that he either invented them or resorted to some special source for them; they are not such as particularly appeal to him. Most likely, therefore, he found them in the document which was his main source for other matter, and, finding them, used them to enforce his religious views. This source was probably the book of the Kings of Juda and Israel, which was in that case based on our Samuel and Kings, with additional matter of uncertain and probably varying value.⁵ Since the style of these additions (with a few minor exceptions) resembles that of the Chronicler, it may be that this book of the Kings was produced in the school to which he belonged. The alternative is to suppose that he rewrote them. That he at least retouched them is probable. How far the peculiar religious and ecclesiastical tone of Chronicles is due to this source we cannot tell, but the presence of the same in Esdras-Nehemias, which do not depend on this book of the Kings, makes it clear that this tone was such as the Chronicler himself would produce,

¹ Loc. cit.

² II Chron. xi, 5-12, 17, 23.

³ II Chron. xiv, 9-15.

⁴ II Chron. xx.

⁵ For particulars, see the following remarks concerning the non-canonical sources of Chronicles.

and probably it is, throughout, mainly due to him"; lastly, (5) the use of a non-canonical source of information by the author of Chronicles in reference to incidents found both in his work and in Genesis-Kings would best account for the discrepancies as to dates, facts, figures, etc., which exist between both sets of inspired writings.¹

The non-canonical sources of information actually referred to by the Chronicler are :

1. The book of the Kings of Juda and Israel (II Chron. xvi, 11 ; xxv, 26 ; xxviii, 26), apparently identical with the book of the Kings of Israel and Juda (II Chron. xxvii, 7 ; xxxv, 27 [compare Hebrew Text] ; xxxvi, 8 [Hebr. T.]);

2. The book of the Kings of Israel (I Chron. ix, 1). The Vulgate and Authorized Versions add "and Juda"; but *Juda* is most likely the subject of the following verb in the original Hebrew;

3. The words (acts or history) of the Kings of Israel (II Chron. xxxiii, 18 ; for Manasses);

4. The Midrash of the book of Kings (II Chron. xxiv, 27 ; for Joas);

5. The Vision of Isaias the prophet, son of Amos, in the book of the Kings of Juda and Israel (II Chron. xxxii, 32 ; for Ezechias);

6. The words of Jehu, son of Hanani, which are inserted in the book of the Kings of Israel (II Chron. xx, 34 ; for Josaphat);

7. The words of Samuel the seer, and the words of Nathan the prophet, and the words of Gad the seer (I Chron. xxix, 29 ; for David);

8. The words of Nathan the prophet, and the prophecy of Ahias the Silonite, and the vision of Addo the seer, respecting Jeroboam, the son of Nabat (II Chron. ix, 29);

9. The words of Semeias the prophet, and of Addo the seer for reckoning by genealogies (II Chron. xii, 15 ; for Roboam);

10. The Midrash of the prophet Addo (II Chron. xiii, 22 ; for Abia);

11. The rest of the words (acts or history) of Ozias, first and last, did Isaias the prophet, son of Amos, write (II Chron. xxvi, 22);

12. The words of Hosai (II Chron. xxxiii, 19), or of the seers that spoke to him (Manasses) . . . written in the words of the Kings of Israel ;

13. Genealogies recorded in the days of Joatham, and in the days of Jeroboam (I Chron. v, 17) ;

¹ Cfr. Paul SCHANZ, in Theolog. Quart.-Schrift, for 1895, p. 191.

14. The later words of David (I Chron. xxiii, 27)
15. The Chronicles (words of days) of King David (I Chron. xxvii, 24);
16. A collection of "Lamentations" (II Chron. xxxv, 25).

A few general remarks will suffice in relation to these various writings probably utilized directly by the Chronicler, but now no longer in our possession.¹ First, it is generally granted that the first three of the titles, and "the book of the Kings of Israel" (referred to under n. 6), are different names of one and the same history of both the northern and the southern kings, and which the Chronicler mentions under its full title, "the book of the kings of Israel and Juda" (or "Juda and Israel"), or under a briefer title, the word "Israel" being then taken as denoting the entire nation.² Nor can it be doubted that this work is not identical with our canonical book of Kings, since the Chronicler refers to it in relation to matters not contained in those books.³ It is likewise certain that it cannot be identified with the books quoted as authorities in the existing books of Kings; for the sources referred to by the writer of Kings were two distinct works treating of each kingdom separately. In the second place, "the Midrash of the book of Kings"—probably not the same as "the book of Kings of Israel and Juda"—was a writing which aimed at deducing religious lessons from the history of the Hebrew monarchs; and as this was one of the purposes of the Chronicler in rehearsing the history of his nation, he would naturally avail himself of such Midrashic sources.⁴ Thirdly, the works ascribed, under different titles, to Hebrew prophets, in nos. 7-12, are possibly sections of the very comprehensive "book of the

¹ Cfr. Franz KAULEN, *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift; Besonderer Theil*, § 241.

² For proofs, see DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 528.

³ Cfr. I Chron. ix. 2; II Chron. xxvii, 7; etc..

⁴ Cfr. DRIVER, *ibid.*, p. 529; W. R. SMITH, *Old Test. in Jewish Church*, 2d edit., pp. 147 sq., 154. See also the author's "General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," p. 410.

Kings of Juda and Israel,"¹ which seems to have been the chief source from which the compiler of Chronicles drew his historical material.² Lastly, of the other minor sources, in nos. 13-16, little can be said, beyond the fact that they cannot be identified with any one of our canonical writings.

§ 4. *Historical Value of Chronicles.*

1. Principal Difficulties urged against it. It would be a long and, on the whole, useless task to detail the numerous difficulties urged by many scholars of the nineteenth century³ against the historical value of the books of Chronicles. We shall therefore simply point out those that have attracted most attention, whether they refer to sections common to the Chronicler's work and to Genesis-Kings, or are connected with passages peculiar to himself. They may be briefly stated as follows: (1) in Chronicles, we are told, there are numerous historical blunders and unintentional inaccuracies;⁴ (2) in many cases the figures set forth by the Chronicler are incredibly high;⁵ (3) the discrepancies

¹ Cfr nos. 5 and 6, where prophetic writings of a similar nature are referred to as embodied in that important work.

² For the probable contents of "the book of the Kings of Juda and Israel," see DRIVER, loc. cit., p. 531.

³ Among them may be mentioned, more particularly, DE WETTE (Introd. to Old Test., vol. ii, §§ 190, 191); GRAMBERG (*Die Chronik nach ihrem geschichtl. Character*; KUENEN (*The Hexateuch*; London, 1836); WELLHAUSEN (*Proleg. to the Hist. of Israel*, chap. vi); etc.

⁴ As of this description, DE WETTE points out II Chron. xix, 21; xx. 36, 37; ix, 12, 14, etc., as compared with parallel passages in the books of Kings.

⁵ These very high figures entail at times discrepancies with those in the preceding books: I Chron. xviii, 4; xix, 18, make David capture 7,000 horsemen and slay 7,000 chariotmen over against 700 of each in II Samuel viii, 4; x. 18; according to I Chron. xxi, 25, David pays 600 sicles of gold for Ornan's threshing-floor; according to II Sam. xxiv, 24, only 50 sicles of silver. Here are examples of exceedingly high figures: according to I Chron. two and a half tribes capture from the Agarites 100,000 prisoners, 50,000 camels, 250,000 sheep, and 2,000 asses; II Chron. xiii, 3, 17, make Abia, with 400,000 men, fight against Jeroboam with 800,000, and kill 500,000 of them; II Chron. xxviii, 6, 8, says that Phacee killed 120,000 warriors of Juda in one day, and carried off 200,000 captives; etc.

noticeable between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings are not only numerous, but oftentimes intentional;¹ (4) dogmatic and legendary alterations and additions are at times met with;² (5) very frequently alterations are made through preference for the Levitical forms of worship and the tribe of Levi;³ (6) usual suppression of things disparaging for those kings of Juda who supported the public worship in Jerusalem;⁴ (7) partiality in matters concerning the Northern Kingdom;⁵ (8) "nearly always the speeches assigned to historical characters, and the motives attributed to them, are conceived largely from a point of view very different from that which dominates the earlier narrative, and agreeing closely with the Chronicler's";⁶ (9) "sins, when they do occur, are sternly punished by God, and public calamities are due to sins";⁷ (10) in some cases "the scale or magnitude of the occurrences described is such that, had they really happened precisely as represented, they could hardly have been passed over by the compiler of Samuel or Kings";⁸ (11) in the narratives which are peculiar to the Chronicler, intrinsic data tend to disprove the historical value of this part of his work.⁹

¹ For example, II Chron. xiv, 5; xvii, 6 (cfr. xix. 3) commend both Asa and Josaphat for removing the high places, whereas III Kings xv, 14; xxii, 47, state explicitly that these kings did not remove the high places. 4

² DE WETTE mentions as variations of the kind that, in I Chron. xxi, 1, it is Satan that moves David to number Israel; while in II Samuel xxiv, 1, it is Jehovah; and the additions in II Chron. vii, 1; I Chron. xxi, 26, as compared with parallel passages in Samuel and Kings.

³ Compare II Chron. v, 11-14 with III Kings viii, 10, 11; II Chron. xxiii, 17-20 with IV Kings xi, 18, 19; II Chron. xxxv, 1-19 with IV Kings xxiii, 21-23; etc., etc.

⁴ Compare, for inst., II Chron. xiii, 2 with III Kings xv, 2, 3; II Chron. xxiv, 2 with IV Kings xii, 2, 3; etc., etc.

⁵ As a proof of this II Chron. xiii is particularly appealed to.

⁶ DRIVER, *Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 532 sq.

⁷ FRANCIS BROWN, art. *Chronicles*, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, p. 394.

⁸ DRIVER, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Cfr. DE WETTE, *Introd. to Old Test.*, vol. ii, p. 295 sqq. (Engl. Transl., Boston, 1850).

Such are the principal difficulties¹ which have been urged against the books of Chronicles, and on account of which it has been the fashion among a certain class of critics to speak of the contents of Chronicles as if they had little or no independent historical value. Such writers as DE WETTE, KUENEN, WELLHAUSEN,² etc., have repeatedly affirmed that the Chronicler is only to be trusted when his statements are confirmed by other sources, particularly by Samuel and Kings; that what he has in common with the preceding historical books is directly borrowed from them, and that all the rest is simply the product of late ideas, the outcome of the misconceptions of the writer's time; or even that, because of his deep interest in things ecclesiastical, he is guilty of deliberate falsification of history by means of manufactured lists of names and invented titles of books.³

2. General Arguments in Favor of the Historical Value of Chronicles. In opposition to those extreme views, scholars truly unbiassed and closely acquainted with all the data of the problem have set forth many general arguments vindicating the honesty of the Chronicler and the substantial accuracy of his work. From among such arguments we select the following: (1) "Comparing the parallel sections with their duplicates in Samuel and Kings, we find in general an assiduous and faithful reproduction of the sources, which warrants us in supposing that the important passages of the narrative which are peculiar to Chronicles

¹ For a detailed examination of the countless difficulties piled up by Rationalists to prove that the Chronicler is absolutely unworthy of credence, cfr. F. C. MOVERS, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die bibl. Chronik*; HERBST-WELTE, *Einleitung in die heiligen Schriften des A. T.*, Theil ii; MARTIN, *Origine du Pentateuque*, vol. ii; etc.

² Cfr. their works mentioned above. See also W. R. SMITH, *Old Test. in Jewish Church*, Lect. v; MONTEFIORE, *Hibbert Lectures for 1892*, p. 448; R. L. OTTLEY, *Bampton Lectures*, 1897; etc.

³ Cfr. Jas. ROBERTSON, in "Book by Book," vol. i, p. 116.

were likewise extracted with substantial accuracy from other historical records no longer extant. Often, indeed, in such passages the style is so much purer than that which we identify as the Chronicler's own as to suggest at once that he is simply transcribing from an ancient document; though more usually he has recast what he found in his authority."¹

(2) It is certain that, like the Oriental writers of history in general, the Chronicler was a compiler, and this, together with the fact that he refers unhesitatingly to his sources of information, mentions some of them as independent documents, speaks of others as embodied in "the book of the Kings of Israel and Juda," and calls others *Midrashim*, goes far toward proving that he honestly indicates the sources he has utilized. (3) It is plain that the mere fact that the Chronicler narrates past events from a religious standpoint does not vitiate necessarily the substance of his work, else the Chronicles of the Middle Ages, the "Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle," by Bossuet, etc., should be rejected at once as worthless; else even the preceding historical books of the Old Testament should likewise be treated as unreliable, since they also record history from a distinctly religious point of view;² in works of that description it is usually easy to disengage the substance of the facts from the peculiar—whether ecclesiastical, monachal, or prophetic—details or remarks which have been added by the respective writers or by transcribers.³ (4) Numerous features, even those which apparently make most against the historical value of Chronicles, such as their Midrashic tone, the enormous figures which they at times give,⁴ etc., seem to point

¹ C. J. BALL, in ELLICOTT'S Plain Introd. to the Books of the Bible, p. 163; see also PELT, *Histoire de l'Ancien Test.*, vol. ii, p. 292; Ed. REUSS, *Chronique Ecclés. de Jérusalem*, pp. 34, 40; etc.

² Cfr. Abbé MARTIN, *Origine du Pentateuque*, vol. ii, p. 79 sq.

³ Cfr. MARTIN, loc. cit., pp. 31, 51, 149, etc.

⁴ No theory of expressing numerals by letters accounts for all the facts connected

to sources distinct from our canonical books, Genesis-Kings, and very likely to post-exilic writings wherein these very figures, ecclesiastical and hortatory additions, had been already inserted, so that their reproduction by the Chronicler, far from destroying, really proves his sincerity.¹

(5) As will be seen in the next chapter, Chronicles are commonly regarded as composed by the same author as Esdras-Nehemias, i.e., by a compiler whose work, while exhibiting the same literary, historical, religious, etc., characteristics as the Chronicler's, is certainly grounded on earlier documents and deserves full credit for literary honesty and substantial accuracy. (6) Even though we should feel obliged to admit that the Chronicler used freely the text of our preceding historical books for the great object of inculcating love of the divine law and faithfulness to the Temple worship, this would not compel us to regard him as a falsifier of history and to treat his work as of no use for historical purposes. As we said elsewhere,² "the silence of the writer of Chronicles regarding the heinous crimes of David and Solomon, which are disclosed to us only by the author of the books of Kings, does not disprove his candor. For we do not rightfully charge with insincerity the biographer of a saint, who, writing for the exclusive purpose of edification, would narrate only what makes for that purpose. . . . We would likewise be wrong in suspecting of insincerity the same Chronicler because of the glowing and, as it were, idealizing tone wherewith he brings to an end his narrative of Solomon's reign."³ . . . Between Solomon's time and that of the Chronicler a very long period had elapsed, during which the faults

with the figures given in Chronicles. Cfr. GIRDLESTONE, *Deuterographs*, p. x; DRIVER, *Introduction*, p. 532, footn. 2; MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, p. 101; etc.

¹ Cfr. Ed. REUSS, *Chronique Ecclésiastiq. de Jérusalem*, pp. 34, 41, 44; DRIVER, *loc. cit.*, pp. 530 sq., 534 sq.

² "Biblical Lectures," *Lect. 2d, Historical Aspect of the Bible*, p. 42 sq. See also Paul SCHANZ, *Theol. Quart.-Schrift* for 1895, pp. 188, 191.

³ II Paralip. ix. 22 sqq.

and crimes of the Jewish monarch had been gradually lost sight of, and the glorious features of his rule emphasized and idealized, so that the Chronicler is simply faithful when he reproduces the picture of Solomon as it existed in his time." Lastly, (7) certain aspects of the historical value of Chronicles are well brought out in the following remarks of Prof. Francis Brown: "The knowledge the author gives us of his own time is historically important. The fact that he clothes old history with his own contemporary habits makes his own time more intelligible to us. We understand better how religious Jews thought and felt in the 3d cent. B.C.¹ This enlivens and vitalizes the period for us, and prepares us better to appreciate the conditions of the work of Jesus and His disciples.

"The author's selection of matter emphasizes the fundamental and permanent elements in the history. He gives only a one-sided view of David, and yet he thereby throws stress on David's real, though, as we know, not unwavering, desire for righteousness. He thinks chiefly of the Southern Kingdom, but that kingdom is the one of historical importance in the development of religion. And so with other details. . . .

"His belief in God was intense, as one actively governing the world, punishing the evil and rewarding the good, demanding obedience and worship, but long-suffering and gracious to His people in spite of their sin. . . .

"He illustrates for us the value and the limitation of the law in spiritual education. Obedience to its smallest requirements was an avenue to God. . . . The law really was a means of spiritual growth, and this the Chronicler exemplifies. . . .

"He bears witness, also, to the value of the liturgical element in religion. . . ." ²

¹ See remarks to the same effect in W. H. BENNETT, *Biblical Introduction*, p. 116.

² Francis BROWN, art. *Chronicles*, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, p. 396.

3. **The Chronicler's Standpoint in Thorough Harmony with the Circumstances of his Time.**¹ To obtain a more accurate idea of the historical character of the books of Chronicles, one must bear in mind the principal circumstances of their composition. The Chronicler lived apparently long after the Babylonian Captivity,² and at a time when the returned Exiles, who belonged to the tribes of the South, had lost their interest in the history of the Northern Kingdom. Cured of the tendencies of their forefathers towards idolatry, they had been brought up in a genuine respect and love for the sole remaining centre of their nation, the restored Temple of Jerusalem. It had become a settled conviction with them that Israel had suffered for unfaithfulness in the matter of religion, and this feeling had been brought about chiefly by means of *Midrashim* on the past history of their race. These, as we have seen, were didactic or homiletic expositions of the prophetic history contained in the sacred books of their nation. They naturally developed such incidents in the public life of the Southern tribes as were adapted to illustrate the religious and moral truths which were then held most vital for the preservation of the national religion. Their purpose had little, if anything, to do with strict historical accuracy, while details best calculated to secure public faithfulness to the divine law and ritual were regarded as of paramount importance. In a word, room had been gradually made for a new history, which would confine itself to matters most interesting to the theocracy of Sion, keeping Jerusalem and the Temple in the foreground, developing the divine pragmatism of past events, and inculcating the

¹ For useful remarks in connection with this topic, see Jas. ROBERTSON, *Books of Chronicles* in "Book by Book," p. 118 sq.; DRIVER, *Introduct. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 533; MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, pp. 28, 35, 65, 79; etc.

² Cfr. the next chapter, wherein the probable date of the Chronicles is discussed.

great lesson that the glory of the Jewish race had always lain in the observance of the divine law and worship.¹

Under these circumstances the Chronicler was divinely inspired to utilize all the sources within his reach, and by their means *compiled* the work which has come down to us. It is precisely in respect of its purpose, hortatory tone, general contents, particular details, etc., what one should expect it to be, viz., a history of the Southern commonwealth from an ecclesiastical standpoint, most helpful, at the time of writing, to forward the religious development of the Jewish people, most useful, in the present day, to give us a right conception of the period at which it was composed and of which it bears the unmistakable impress. It may not be, indeed it is not, history "written as demanded by modern criticism," but it is history as it could be written at the time and such as "cannot be justly accused of error if the representation does not completely correspond to the standard of severely historical science."²

¹ W. R. SMITH, art. Chronicles, in Encyclop. Britannica (9th edit.).

² P. SCHANZ, in the Theol. Quart.-Schrift for 1895, p. 188. Cfr. the author's "General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," p. 556 sq.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XI.

THE BOOKS OF ESDRAS AND NEHEMIAS (I-II ESDRAS).

<p>I.</p> <p>NAMES</p> <p>AND POSITION</p> <p>IN</p> <p>THE CANON:</p>	{	<p>1. Names in the Hebrew MSS. and Bibles; in the Christian Church.</p>	{	<p>of the Jews: in the Hagiographa, before Chronicles.</p>
		<p>2. Position in the Canon</p>		<p>of Christians; immediately after Chronicles.</p>

<p>II.</p> <p>CONTENTS</p> <p>AND</p> <p>STRUCTURE:</p>	{	<p>1. General Contents:</p>	{	<p>Pointed out as actually found in Esdras and Nehemias.</p> <p>Nehemias' mission probably anterior to that of Esdras.</p>
		<p>2. Structure: A Compilation of extracts from various Sources.</p>		

<p>III.</p> <p>RELATION TO</p> <p>THE BOOKS</p> <p>OF</p> <p>CHRONICLES:</p>	{	<p>1. Formerly Esdras-Nehemias and Chronicles generally regarded as independent Works.</p>
		<p>2. Nowadays more commonly considered as only one Work. (Grounds for this View.)</p>
		<p>3. Probable Accounts of the Manner in which Esdras-Nehemias were severed from Chronicles.</p>

<p>IV.</p> <p>DATE</p> <p>AND</p> <p>AUTHORSHIP:</p>	{	<p>1. Esdras, the Author of Esdras-Nehemias, according to the Talmud.</p>
		<p>2. Grounds for a later Date, briefly Examined.</p>
		<p>3. Probable Conclusions regarding Date and Authorship.</p>

V. HISTORICAL VALUE OF ESDRAS AND NEHEMIAS.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BOOKS OF ESDRAS AND NEHEMIAS (I-II ESDRAS).

§ 1. *Names and Position in the Canon.*

1. Names. In our modern Hebrew Bibles these two canonical books appear separated, and bear the names of *Esdras* and *Nehemias*, respectively. But there is abundant evidence that in ancient times they formed but one book, the title of which was *Esdras*. Not only in the Hebrew MSS. of the sacred text, which are all comparatively recent, but in such ancient sources of information as St. Jerome,¹ St. Hilary, Origen,² Josephus,³ etc., Esdras and Nehemias are spoken of as only one book, known under the name of *Esdras*. In like manner some of the oldest copies of the Septuagint Version make no division between these two canonical books,⁴ and the Massoretic note at the end of Nehemias proves that the Jewish tradition reckoned them both as only one work.⁵

In the Christian Church there has been a much greater amount of variation in the designation employed. In lists of the Old Testament books which comprised only the

¹ Cfr. *Prologus Galeatus* (MIGNE, Patr. Lat., vol. xxviii, col. 555).

² In *Eusebius*, Eccl. Hist., Book vi, chap. xxv. St. Hilary implicitly followed Origen in this as in many other things.

³ This can be inferred from *Against Apion*, Book i, § 8.

⁴ Cfr. H. B. SWETE, *The Old Test. in Greek*, vol. ii (Cambridge, 1891).

⁵ The Massoretic note reads: "The book of Esdras contains 685 verses, and the middle verse is 'Between the going up'" (Nehem. iii, 32).

proto-canonical books of the Old Covenant the title of "Esdras" found in the Hebrew MSS. was naturally adopted; and wherever the Septuagint division into two books was followed the two books were called the First and Second of Esdras. In the more complete lists of the sacred writings of the Old Testament an element of confusion was introduced by the insertion of the Apocryphal book of Esdras, (our III^d book of Esdras), which, probably out of regard for chronology, was usually placed before the Hebrew Esdras, and called the First of Esdras, while our two books of Esdras (Esdras and Nehemias) appeared as one book, with the title of the Second of Esdras. This was the case in St. Jerome's time, with the LXX, the Old Latin, and the Syriac Versions. In his Latin translation of the Hebrew Text, which has become our Vulgate, the holy doctor rightly rejected as apocryphal the book heretofore called the First of Esdras in the Christian Codices, translated only the Hebrew book of Esdras, which he, however, divided into two (I and II Esdras), and spoke of the apocryphal writings of that name as the Third and Fourth of Esdras.¹ Accordingly, in the Latin Vulgate and the vernacular translations derived therefrom,² Esdras and Nehemias were usually called I and II of Esdras, and it is only in the latter part of the 16th cent. that, owing chiefly to a controversial desire for a departure from the time-honored custom of the Vulgate, Protestants began to adopt the names Esdras and Nehemias, which St. Jerome had used toward the end of the fourth cent. in speaking of the contents of the Hebrew Esdras.³ In the present day Catholic scholars use both kinds of titles (Esdras and Nehemias, I-II Esdras), but call "Third" and "Fourth" of Esdras the apocryphal

¹ Cfr. Preface to Esdras (MIGNE, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. xxviii, col. 1403).

² Cfr. H. E. RYLE, *Comm. on Ezra and Nehemiah*, in the *Cambridge Bible*, p. xiv.

³ Cfr. *Pref. to Esdras* (MIGNE, *loc. cit.*).

books of that name; while Protestant writers employ the Greek word "*Esdras*" to designate those apocryphal writings, and the Hebrew names "*Ezra*" and "*Nehemiah*" as the headings of our canonical books of Esdras.¹

2. Place in the Canon. In the Hebrew Bible the books of Esdras and Nehemias are ranked among the "Writings" (the *Hagiographa*) or third Canon of the Jews, where they stand immediately before Chronicles. This position, which appears so unnatural, since the first book of Esdras is the direct continuation of the history in the second book of Chronicles, has been variously explained. According to many contemporary scholars it is more probably due to the fact that Esdras and Nehemias were considered by the Jewish scribes as authoritative parts of Holy Writ before Chronicles obtained that recognition;² but such a view offers many difficulties which will probably prevent it from ever being universally accepted.

In the Christian Canon—whether the complete canon of Catholics or the incomplete one of Protestants—Esdras and Nehemias follow the books of Chronicles, an arrangement which is immediately referable to the Septuagint Version, but which originally goes back to the author of those sacred writings, inasmuch as Chronicles, Esdras, and Nehemias have so many and so important historical, literary, religious, etc., features in common that they most probably are the work of one and the same compiler.³

¹ In this way the First and Second books of Esdras according to the Protestant reckoning correspond, not to our first and second (canonical) books of Esdras, but to our third and fourth (apocryphal) books of that name.

² Cfr. H. E. RYLE, *Essay on the Canon of the Old Test.*, p. 134 sq. (Macmillan, 1892).

³ This point will soon be examined in connection with the precise relation in which Esdras-Nehemias stand to the books of Chronicles.

§ 2. *Contents and Structure of Esdras-Nehemias.*

I. General Contents. The narrative begins in Esdras, with the decree enacted by Cyrus in 538 in favor of the Jewish captives in Babylon, and comes to an end in Nehemias with the record of incidents which occurred in 432 B.C.; so that the two books together extend over a little more than a century. Far from containing, however, a complete history of the Restoration which was carried out during that space of time, Esdras-Nehemias give only a short account of a few important events in that history, and do not cover more than an actual period of some fifteen or twenty years. The reason of this is found chiefly in the author's purpose of simply supplying details regarding the main steps in the re-establishment of the theocracy in Juda and Jerusalem,¹ as may be easily inferred from a rapid survey of the contents of his work. Thus in two parts manifestly built on the same plan (i-vi, vii-x) our first book of Esdras speaks briefly (1) of the return of the Jews from Babylon under Zorobabel, and of the incidents which followed it immediately and resulted in the rebuilding of the Temple; (2) of another return, this time under the leadership of Esdras, and of the facts connected with the enforcement of the law concerning mixed marriages. In like manner Nehemias, or second book of Esdras, gives a brief sketch—oftentimes in the first person—of events of such theocratic import as (1) the first visit of Nehemias to Jerusalem, and his success in rebuilding the walls of the Holy City, in spite of every opposition (Nehem. i-vii); (2) the solemn promulgation of the Law by Esdras, and the institution of a public covenant for its observance (viii-x); (3) a section (xi-xiii) which, though consisting of miscellaneous

¹ Cfr. CLAIR, *Esdras et Néhémias*, in Lethiellieux' Bible, p. iii; J. S. BLACK, art. Ezra, in *Encyclop. Britann.* (9th edit.).

contents, clearly makes for the same theocratic purpose: it contains various lists and Nehemias' own accounts of the dedication of the walls, of his second visit to Jerusalem, and the vigorous measures he then took for the public welfare.

The order of events which seems naturally suggested by these general contents, and which on that account has been universally received until recent times, places the mission of Esdras before that of Nehemias. This is still the prevalent opinion even among Biblical scholars, who, on very good grounds,¹ regard I Esdras iv, 6-23 as out of the chronological order, but think that these verses should simply be put back to the end of that sacred book, without further displacement of its contents. Such a view has indeed the advantage of advocating only a minimum of departure from the present arrangement in the text of I Esdras; but it has the serious drawback of assigning to the verses in question a place hardly less unnatural than the one they now occupy. To do away with this and other such difficulties, several contemporary scholars (among whom may be mentioned Father Van Hoonacker, Card. Meignan, Lagrange, O.P., Father Pelt, Professors W. H. Kusters, T. K. Cheyne, etc.) maintain that not only I Esdras iv, 6-23, but also I Esdras vii-x should be displaced, and that Nehemias' mission to Jerusalem occurred before that of Esdras. This view, it must be confessed, has not yet commended itself to many minds; nevertheless it has in its favor numerous and strong arguments, from among which we simply mention the following: (1) when this view is admitted it is easy so to arrange the documents as to obtain a natural order for the events narrated in Esdras-Nehemias;² (2) the same

¹ Concerning those grounds, see DRIVER, *Introd.*, p. 547 sq.; H. E. RYLE, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, etc. FR. MANGENOT has adopted the opinion that I Esdr. iv, 6-23 is out of the chronological order (cfr. art. Esdras, in VIGOUROUX, *Dict. de la Bible*).

² The following arrangement of the documents will secure the natural order of events

view is the only one in harmony with the incidental statement, "the days of Zorobabel and Nehemias," which is found in II Esdras xii, 46; (3) it seems absolutely required by the fact that when Nehemias arrived at Jerusalem for the first time he still met the high priest Eliasib,¹ whereas Esdras' arrival at the Holy City is represented as coinciding with the time of Johanan, the grandson of Eliasib.² Indeed, had the advocates of this important view been at one concerning the precise time to which Esdras' mission should be assigned, once it is regarded as posterior to Nehemias' first term of office, it is highly probable that many more critics would have adopted it, and usually spoken of Nehemias-Esdras instead of using the time-honored formula Esdras-Nehemias, in what appertains to the history of the Jewish restoration. Be this as it may, some of its advocates maintain that Esdras' mission and reforms took place in Nehemias' second term of office,³ whereas the others think that it occurred between the two governorships of Nehemias.⁴

2. Structure of Esdras-Nehemias. The closer the order and nature of the contents of Esdras and Nehemias are examined, the more also does it become manifest that these two books are the result of a process of compilation.⁵ This process "is rendered apparent by (1) the abrupt-

which is followed in the author's "Outlines of Jewish History": Esdras i-vi (except iv, 6-23). ——— iv, 6-23. Nehemias i-xiii. Esdras vii-x.

¹ Cfr. Nehem. iii, 1.

² Cfr. Esdras x, 6; Nehem. xii, 22; xiii, 28. For an excellent discussion of these and other such arguments, see particularly M. A. VAN HOONACKER, *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Restauration Juive après l'Exil de Babylone* (Rev. Biblique, Jan. and April 1901). For library references, see also DRIVER, *Introd.*, and the *Dictionaries of BLACK, HASTINGS, etc.*

³ Nehem. xiii, 6 sqq.

⁴ Cfr. Nehem. xii, 26, etc. For particulars, see, among others. TORREY, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, pp. 29-34; DRIVER, *Introd.*, p. 552; VAN HOONACKER, *loc. cit.*; etc.

⁵ Father MANGENOT admits this explicitly in regard to I Esdras (cfr. VIGOUROUX, *Dict.*, col. 1937; see also col. 1936). Cfr. also MARTIN, *LESÊTRE, etc.*

ness of transition from one incident or subject to another, for instance, in Esdras ii, 1; v, 1; vii, 1; Nehem. i, 1; vii, 73^b; xii, 27; xiii, 4; (2) the intermittent usage of the *first* person without any words to explain the cause of its introduction or its disuse; (3) the insertion of two considerable sections written in the Aramaic dialect, viz., Esdras iv, 8-vi, 18; vii, 12-26; (4) the abrupt introduction of lists without any immediate relevance to the context in which they occur, for instance, Nehem. vii, 6-73; xi, 3-36; xii, 1-26; (5) the mention of important names without explanation, as if they had occurred in the foregoing context, for instance, Zorobabel, in Esdr. ii, 2; iii, 2; Assuerus, Darius, in Esdras iv, 5, 6; vi, 15; Nehem. xii, 22; Osaias, in Nehem. xii, 32."¹

The various sources utilized in the compilation of Esdras-Nehemias may be briefly described as follows: (1) the personal "memoirs" of Esdras and Nehemias, extracts from which are distinguishable by the use of the first person singular (compare, for instance, Esdras vii, 27, 28; viii, 1, 15-17, etc.; Nehem. i, 1-vii, 5; xii, 31, etc.); (2) lists which are embodied in those sacred books and which bespeak by their general texture and the abruptness of their insertion the fact that they are genuine extracts from public documents. Among such lists may be mentioned more particularly that of the Jews who returned with Zorobabel, given in I Esdr. ii, 1-70, and repeated in II Esdr. vii, 6-73; that of the ancestors of Esdras in I Esdr. vii, 1-5, considerably abridged from that in I Chron. v, 29-41; those of the priests and Levites in Nehem. xi, which appear also abridged when compared with those in I Chron. ix; (3) Aramaic writings to which can be traced back the royal rescript in I Esdr. vii, 12-26, and probably also extracts such as those contained in I Esdr. iv, 7-vi, 18; (4) a contemporary

¹ H. E. RYLE, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (in the Cambridge Bible), p. xvii. Cfr. also DRIVER, *Introd.*, p. 544 sq.: etc.

Chronicle, part of which was introduced into Nehem. vii, 73^b-x, and seems to interrupt the "Memoirs" of Nehemias. In it "both Esdras and Nehemias are spoken of in the third person singular (viii, 1-6, 9, 13, 18; x, 2), while the use of the first person plural in x, 1, 31, 33, 40, suggests the writing of an eye-witness or a contemporary, but not of Nehemias or Esdras."¹

§ 3. *Relation of Esdras-Nehemias to the Books of Chronicles.*

1. **Formerly Esdras-Nehemias and Chronicles were generally regarded as Independent Works.**

Although the many and close resemblances noticeable between Esdras-Nehemias, on the one hand, and Chronicles, on the other, have long attracted the attention of Biblical scholars, they have been generally accounted for, till recently, by unity of authorship.² The same author, Esdras, it was maintained, had composed both sets of writing, so that it was not surprising to find that their style, method, general plan, etc., should appear so much alike. It was also argued that the sameness of I Esdras i, 1-3 and II Chron. xxxvi, 22, 23 (they are almost the same, word for word), confirms the unity of authorship of those books, while it goes against the view that they were originally combined into one work. For "had the two books originally formed one work, it would never have occurred to any one afterwards to tear them asunder in such a way as to break off the Chronicles in the middle of Esdras i, 3, or to repeat the last two verses of Chronicles at the beginning of Esdras."³ If, on the contrary,

¹ H. E. RYLE, loc. cit., p. xxi. Whether the remaining sections, more distinctly characterized by the Compiler's own style, must be also considered as based on earlier documents cannot be defined. For details regarding the structure of the two books, compare DRIVER, loc. cit., pp. 545-552. W. H. BENNETT, *Biblical Introd.*, p. 119 sq., may also be usefully consulted.

² Cfr. KEIL, *Introd.*, § 146, note 4; LESÊTRE, *Introd.*, vol. ii; E. MANGENOT, art. Esdras, in VIGOUROUX, *Dict. de la Bible*, col. 1935; etc.

³ KEIL, loc. cit., § 142, note 9. See also Keil's reasoning to the same effect in § 146,

they ever were independent works composed by the same writer, and if—as is most naturally suggested by the position in the Hebrew canon of Esdras-Nehemias *before* Chronicles—Esdras existed already when Chronicles were compiled, one can readily understand how the author of Chronicles quoted from the edict of Cyrus just as much as would form a fit conclusion for that work, since he had already given in full the text of the same decree at the beginning of Esdras. “Moreover, the advocates that Esdras-Nehemias and Chronicles formed primitively but one work can give no satisfactory account of the separation of that large work into three, and the inversion of the parts into what is not a chronological order. Further, there are repetitions in the books which are scarcely consistent with the idea that they once formed a whole. Thus the list in Esdras ii, 2-70 is repeated in Nehemias vii, 6-73; and the list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem after the restoration, which has its natural place in Nehemias xi, is found also, with variations such as the same author would have hardly introduced, in I Chron. ix.”¹ Finally, it has been supposed that the close affinity in respect of style, purpose, method, etc., which must be admitted between the contents of Esdras-Nehemias and those of Chronicles can be sufficiently accounted for by appealing, not to unity of authorship, but simply to a general conformity on the part of different writers with the spirit of one and the same period in Jewish history.

2. Nowadays Esdras-Nehemias and Chronicles are more commonly considered as only one Work. Without underrating in the least the force of the foregoing arguments, most contemporary scholars who have examined anew the question of the relationship existing between

note 4, based on the differences in wording between the end of II Chron. and the beginning of I Esdras.

¹ Jas. ROBERTSON, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* (in “Book by Book”), p. 127.

Esdras-Nehemias and Chronicles think that those arguments, either singly or taken together, do not outweigh the evidence in the opposite direction. They claim, first of all, that the resemblances in general character, historical treatment, style and diction are so numerous and so striking between these two works as to prove that they formed a continuous work proceeding from one compiler.¹ The *general character* is plainly the same, for in both Esdras-Nehemias and Chronicles the narrative is chiefly made up of extracts from earlier documents, the Law is explicitly cited,² and great prominence is given to genealogical lists. So is it likewise with the *historical treatment* of events narrated, in connection with which we may note the following points: (1) in Esdras and Nehemias there is the same marked preference for statistical and genealogical registers as in Chronicles; compare, for instance, Esdras ii, Nehem. iii, with I Chron. xii; Nehem. vii, 63-65 with II Chron. xxxi, 16-19; etc.; (2) in Esdras-Nehemias, as in Chronicles, religious rites and festivals are described with great minuteness; compare, for instance, Esdras iii; vi, 16-22; Nehem. viii, with I Chron. xv, xvi; II. Chron v-vii, 10; xxix-xxxi; (3) in Esdras-Nehem., as in the books of Chronicles, three classes of Temple attendants, viz., Levites, Singers and Porters, barely mentioned in the books of Samuel and Kings, are very frequently noticed; and the N^ethinim, so often spoken of in Esdras-Nehem.,³ are nowhere mentioned in the Old Testament except in I Chron. ix, 2. As regards the *style* and *diction*, they are practically identical in both works, or, more correctly, in those parts of both works which belong to the compiler himself. Among the

¹ W. E. BARNES, Books of Chronicles, p. x, admits that they might have proceeded from "one school of compilers."

² Cfr. II Chron. xxv, 4; xxxi, 3; Esdr. iii, 2^b; vi, 18; Nehem. i, 8. See also VIGOUROUX, Man. Biblique, n. 504.

³ For numerous references, cfr. H. E. RYLE, Ezra and Nehemiah, p. xxvii sq.

characteristic phrases and expressions common to both, we shall simply quote the following: (1) "fathers' houses," Esdras ii, 59; x, 16; Nehem. vii, 61; x, 35, and more than 20 times in Chronicles; (2) "heads of fathers' houses," Esdr. i, 5; ii, 68; iii, 12; iv, 2, 3; etc.; Nehem. vii, 70, 71; viii, 13; xi, 13; etc.; and more than 20 times in Chronicles; (3) "the house of God" (elsewhere the house of Yahweh) very frequently in Esdr.-Nehem., and more than 30 times in Chronicles; etc., etc.¹

In the second place, the primitive unity of Esdras-Nehemias and Chronicles has been inferred from the fact that the concluding verses of II Chron. are identical with the opening verses of Esdras. Had Chronicles been an independent work, they might have ended less abruptly—they end in the middle of an unfinished sentence—at II Chron. xxxvi, 21, for instance. In fact there is no real break in the narrative between II Chron. xxxvi and I Esdr. i, and the unsatisfactory character of the existing division simply points to the difficulty felt by some editor or transcriber in severing one originally continuous work into our "Chronicles" and "Esdras." The two differences in reading, upon which Keil lays so much stress, are too insignificant to be regarded as marks of an editorial hand.²

In the third place, the strongest argument in favor of the primitive unity is drawn from the fact that, under the name of the Third book of Esdras, there is still extant part of a Greek version of the books of Chronicles, Esdras and Nehemias which bears no trace of their division. This un-

¹ For further details. cfr. RYLE, loc. cit., p. xxviii sq.; DRIVER, *Introd.*, p. 535 sqq.; HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 389 sqq.; VIGOUROUX, *Man. Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 504, footn.; etc.

² C. J. BALL, *The Books of the Chronicles*, in ELLICOTT'S *Plain Introductions to the Books of the Bible*, p. 163. The Catholic writer F. C. MOYERS has been so struck by the force of that argument that, as early as the first part of the 10th century, he admitted the primitive unity of Esdras-Nehemias and Chronicles.

canonical work is, with certain important omissions and one legendary addition,¹ an independent translation of the history from II Chron. xxxv to Nehemias viii, 13^a. It gives the edict of Cyrus only once, thus showing that it was recorded only once in the Hebrew text from which the translation was made, and knows nothing of our present division into three books, whence it is natural to infer that Chronicles–Nehemias formed as yet but one great history, composed upon a uniform plan by a single author.²

3. Probable Accounts of the Manner in which Esdras–Nehemias were severed from Chronicles.

In regard to the main objection raised against their view, viz., the difficulty of giving a satisfactory account of a later severance of Esdras–Nehemias from Chronicles, the advocates of the primitive unity of those books have put forth several answers of unequal value. Two more particularly deserve to be mentioned. They have said that since, as is granted on all hands, Chronicles–Nehemias bear the impress of one and the same mind as regards style, purpose, method of treatment, etc., etc., these books formed originally so long a work that, on account of its bulk, it was, after a while, divided into two parts: the first made up of Chronicles, as distinctly parallel to the prophetic histories in Genesis–Kings; the second comprising Esdras and Nehemias, which, as we know from the Hebrew Canon, were certainly only one work at a given moment. This account of the manner in which Esdras–Nehemias were severed from Chronicles is rendered all the more probable because it is well known that, in the history of the sacred text of the Old Testament, books originally united, such as

¹ Cfr. III Esdr. iii–v, 6.

² Concerning the third book of Esdras. cfr. the author's "General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," p. 122 sq.; DRIVER, Introd., p. 553 sq.

I-II Chronicles, Esdras and Nehemias, etc., were divided later into two parts, most likely because they were too bulky.

A second plausible account for this severance of Esdras-Nehemias from Chronicles¹ is supplied by the probable history of their admission into the Hebrew Canon. "The narrative contained in 'the Prophets' had closed with the middle of the exile."² We may well fancy how essential it would seem that some record of the return from the exile, of the restoration of the Temple, of the rebuilding of the city walls, of the first reading of 'the Law,' should be included in the writings of the Jewish Scriptures. The latter portion of the Chronicler's work (viz., Esdras-Nehemias, which alone does not cover ground occupied by Samuel-Kings) . . . offered just what was required,"³ and was therefore admitted into the Canon *before* and *separately from* the former part of the Chronicler's work (viz., I-II Paralip.). Only at a later date—hence their place *after* Esdras and Nehemias—were our books of Chronicles admitted into the Jewish Canon. Apparently, in the separation, a few verses were retained in each part.⁴ That difficulties in the formation of the Canon, such as are surmised by critics who have put forth this second argument, should have actually brought about the separation of Esdras-Nehemias from Chronicles, will not surprise any one familiar with the kind of arguments which the Scribes who presided over the formation of the third Jewish Canon, or the Hagiographa, were wont to set forth either for or against the canonical character of the sacred books now included in the last part of the Hebrew Bible.⁵

¹ It is gaining rapid ground among contemporary scholars. Cfr. H. E. RYLE, Essay on the Canon of the Old Testament, p. 134 sq.; W. E. BARNES, The Books of Chronicles, p. xiii; HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, p. 824; etc.

² IV Kings xxv, 27.

³ H. E. RYLE, loc. cit. See also his Comm. on Ezra and Nehemiah, p. lxx.

⁴ Esdr. i, 1-3; II Chron. xxxvi, 22, 23.

⁵ Cfr. the author's "General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," Part i; and also the special works of LOISY, REUSS, RYLE, etc., on the Canon of the Old Test.

§ 4. *Date and Authorship of Esdras-Nehemias.*

I. Esdras the Author of Esdras-Nehemias according to the Talmud. However strange this may appear to us, the words of the Talmud,¹ "Esdras wrote his own book and the genealogies of the book of Chronicles as far as himself," have but one meaning. They ascribe to one and the same writer, Esdras, the authorship of the last three books in our Hebrew Text. Esdras' "own book" is plainly equivalent to our books of Esdras and Nehemias, which, as we know, were formerly undivided; and "the genealogies of the book of Chronicles as far as himself" clearly refer to our books of Chronicles at the time when they still formed only one work, and describe them by means of their opening and concluding portions, for they begin with several chapters devoted to genealogies, and close with verses (chap. xxxvi, 22, 23) identical to the opening verses of our first book of Esdras. It is true that later Jewish writers, and some modern rabbis,² struck by the direct opposition of this passage of the Talmud to the heading "the words of Nehemias the son of Helchias" now prefixed to our second book of Esdras, have done their utmost to explain away this obvious meaning of the Talmudic statement. But the primitive unity of Esdras-Nehemias under the single title of Esdras is so entirely beyond question that the present heading of Nehemias should very likely be considered as a later addition, inserted to explain the transition from the first person, used in the extracts from Esdras' memoirs, to the first person used in the memoirs of Nehemias. This will appear all the more probable because this superscription to Nehemias is the only one of

¹ Cfr. Section N^ezigin. treatise *Baba bathra*, fol. 15^a.

² Among them may be mentioned L. WOGUE. in his valuable "Histoire de la Bible et de l'Exégèse Biblique," p. 80 sqq.

the kind in a historical book.¹ It is clear, therefore, that, in connection with Esdras and Nehemias, as in connection with most of the historical writings of the Old Testament, the testimony of Jewish tradition embodied in the Talmud regarding their authorship can be little relied upon.

2. Grounds for a Later Date than Esdras briefly Examined. In one point, however, the Talmudic statement quoted above is meeting with the approval of many contemporary critics. Recent scholars admit readily that Chronicles, Esdras and Nehemias are the work of one and the same compiler, but on that very account refer their composition to a date much later than Esdras' time (about the middle of 5th cent. B.C.). The principal arguments in favor of their view are as follows: (1) in I Paralip. iii, 19-24, the Chronicler carries the genealogy of the House of David down, if not, as affirmed by the Septuagint, the Peshitto and the Vulgate, to the *eleventh*, at least, according to the present reading of the Hebrew Text, to the *sixth*, generation from Zorobabel, that is "to a period certainly later than Esdras' time";² (2) in Nehem. xii, 10, 11, 22, the line of the high priests is given as far as Jaddus in the following terms: "Josue begot Joacim, and Joacim begot Eliasib, and Eliasib begot Joiada, and Joiada begot Jonathan, and Jonathan begot Jaddus." . . . "In the days of Eliasib, and Joiada, and Johanan, and Jaddus. . . ." Of these high priests Eliasib was certainly contemporary with Nehemias,³ and we know from Josephus⁴ that the name of the high priest in the time of Alexander the Great († 323

¹ For headings due to editorial hands in the prophetic writings, cfr. Isai. i, 1; Jerem. i, 1; etc.

² VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique vol. ii, n. 503, footn. If we shou'd abide by the rendering of the LXX. Pesh, and Vulg., the author would have lived about 250 B.C.

³ Nehem. xiii, 4, 28.

⁴ Antiquities of the Jews. Book xi chap. viii § 4. See also CLAIR, Esdras et Néhémias, p. 127.

B.C.) was Jaddus. This line of the high priests is therefore traced to the fifth successor of Josue, the contemporary of Zorobabel, and apparently to about 330 B.C. Yea, more, it may be inferred from the use of the expression "in the days of Jaddus" that Jaddus' high-priesthood was already past history at the time when Nehemias (chap. xii) was compiled, all the more so because the general formula "the days of . . ." applied to the rule of such high priests as Eliasib, Joiada, etc., is clearly an attempt at reckoning the chronology of former times by the Jewish high-priesthood; (3) again, Nehem. xii, 22 appears to speak of Jaddus and "Darius the Persian," that is, in all probability, of Darius *Codomannus* (335-330), the prince defeated by Alexander the Great; lastly, (4) the Chronicler's designation of Cyrus and Darius as "kings of Persia" seems to indicate that he lived and wrote after the overthrow of the Persian dominion.¹

To discredit these arguments in favor of the late date of Chronicles-Esdras, it is frequently affirmed that they are drawn chiefly from words and phrases which might easily have been inserted by transcribers, or added at some late revision of the work. We are told, for instance, that a scribe may easily have added a few names to the genealogy of the House of David in I Paralip. iii, and that verses 10, 11, 22-23 in Nehem. xii look very much out of place in their immediate context.² Of course the possibility of such additions must ever be granted in regard to documents so ancient and so often transcribed as those embodied in our sacred writings. It must also be conceded that, as a matter of fact, Nehem. xii, 22 contains a statement very abruptly introduced,³ and that verses 10, 11 of the same chapter do

¹ Cfr. DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 545; HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 302.

² Cfr. CLAIR, *Les Paralipomènes*, pp. 17, 18, 89; VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 503, footn.; n. 519; etc.

³ Cfr. H. E. RYLE, *Esdras and Nehemias*, p. 296.

not seem at first sight to be connected with either the sacerdotal list which precedes or that which follows. It remains true, however, that in compilatory writings, such as *Chronicles-Nehemias*, the actual author may have at times embodied in his work extracts from various sources of information without perfectly adapting them to the immediate context. Further, it cannot be said that verses 10, 11 in *Nehem. xii* would not have appeared necessary in the eyes of the compiler who wished to introduce the sacerdotal list supplied by verses 12 sqq.; for this list gives the names of the priests "in the days of Joacim," and "Joacim" is distinctly mentioned in the genealogy contained in verses 10, 11. Nor is it absolutely correct to affirm that verses 22 and 23 of *Nehem. xii* are not connected with their immediately preceding context. For verse 22 deliberately omits the name of Joacim from its list of the high priests, because that name had been already given in verse 12; and verse 23 is plainly a reference to a certain "book of *Chronicles*" as to the source from which details concerning the heads of the fathers' houses spoken of in verses 12-21 could be obtained. Besides, "the existing authorities for the text fail to show variations of reading in connection with the words and phrases in question. And it is evident that the allegation of their recent insertion is only put forward with the object of upholding or rendering possible the traditional views of authorship."¹

3. Probable Conclusions regarding Date and Authorship. Once the old and decidedly incorrect view of the Talmud which refers to *Esdras* the authorship of *Chronicles-Nehemias* is set aside, it becomes a very diffi-

¹ H. E. RYLE, loc. cit., p. xxiv. Dr. Ryle's remark refers directly to the passages in *Esdras-Nehemias* the genuineness of which has been questioned; but it may be justly applied to the last part of the genealogy of the House of David (I Paralip. iii), the authenticity of which would never have been rejected had it not told in favor of a late date for the books of *Chronicles*.

cult matter to give the date and author of those inspired writings. On the one hand, contemporary scholars, even those who desire to depart but little from the Talmudic view, do not agree in their conclusions; and, on the other, the data supplied by the books themselves are not absolutely decisive. We shall therefore simply state as probable the following conclusions, the main basis of which is the fact that Chronicles, Esdras and Nehemias are due to one and the same compiler.¹

In regard to the date of Chronicles-Nehemias, it seems that some time after 330 B.C. should be admitted.² The principal reasons for this being (1) the orthography, late language, levitical tendency and position of those sacred writings at the end of the Hagiographa; (2) the genealogical and other historical data chiefly found in I Chron. iii and Nehem. xii.

In regard to the author of Chronicles-Nehemias, little can be said beyond the fact that he is neither Esdras nor Nehemias.³ He is a compiler who has made extracts from various sources of information,—among which were included the Memoirs of Esdras and Nehemias,—and whose style is in striking contrast with that of the original documents, wherever he has been contented with transcribing verbally. From the priestly-levitical tone of his entire work, it may perhaps be said that he was a Levite attached to the Temple of Jerusalem. Ewald further supposes him to have belonged to one of the guilds of Levitical musicians, but this can hardly be considered as more than a plausible conjecture.

¹ As already stated, this was the view of Father MOVERS in the early part of the 19th cent.; and F. CORNELY, S.J., adopts it substantially, since he regards Esdras as the author of Chronicles, I Esdras, part of II Esdras, and the "compiler of Esdras-Nehemias" (Introd. Specialis, vol. ii, part i, p. 363; etc.).

² This late date, which is more and more extensively admitted by contemporary critics, goes directly against the Protestant theory that the Canon of the Old Testament was settled by Esdras. Cfr. the author's "General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures."

³ For details in this connection, see H. E. RYLE, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. xxiv sqq.

§ 5. *Historical Value of Esdras-Nehemias.*

It is difficult to exaggerate the historical value of the books of Esdras and Nehemias. They stand alone for the important epoch in Jewish history which extends from Cyrus to Alexander the Great, and although they are very far from affording us a continuous narrative of the events of that long period, yet they give us a distinct and accurate picture of the general condition, moral, religious and social, of the Jews during the Persian rule. "So far as their composition is concerned, we find here, what is scarcely to be found elsewhere in the narratives of the Old Testament, large portions of undoubtedly contemporary writing in the extracts from the autobiographical memoirs of Esdras and Nehemias, and from the official documents."¹ All such extracts are so faithfully given by the compiler that a recent critic, writing from the standpoint of modern historical science, has regretted that "the Chronicler should have used his sources as if all were alike trustworthy."² Indeed, far from interfering with the value of the historical work of the Chronicler, this general faithfulness to transcribe his sources of information puts his candor beyond suspicion, and places within our reach, what is most highly prized at the present day, the very original documents he had at his disposal. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that the historical value of this second part of the Chronicler's work is readily granted by nearly all contemporary critics.

As regards the difficulties urged against certain details of Esdras-Nehemias, the reader is referred to H. LESÊTRE, *Introduction à l'Etude de l'Ecriture Sainte*, vol. ii, p. 299 sqq.; VIGOUROUX, *Bible et Découvertes Modernes*, vol. iv; CLAIR, *Esdras et Néhémias*; H. E. RYLE, *Ezra and Nehemiah*; etc.

¹ H. E. RYLE, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. lxix.

² Prof. L. W. BATTEN, art. *Ezra and Nehemiah*, in HASTINGS, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 824.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XII.

THE BOOKS OF TOBIAS, JUDITH AND ESTHER.

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| <p>I.</p> <p>THE BOOK OF</p> <p>TOBIAS:</p> | <p>{</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contents, Principal Divisions and General Purpose. 2. Original Language, Date and Authorship. 3. Historical Character: { <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> <p>{ General Arguments in favor of it.</p> <p>Principal Difficulties against it.</p> </div> |
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| <p>II.</p> <p>THE BOOK OF</p> <p>JUDITH:</p> | <p>{</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contents and Purpose. 2. Principal Opinions regarding Authorship. 3. Date: Probably after the Babylonian Captivity. 4. Arguments for and against its Historical Character. |
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| <p>III.</p> <p>THE BOOK OF</p> <p>ESTHER:</p> | <p>{</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contents and Principal Divisions. 2. Purpose, Author and Date. 3. Principal Arguments for and against Historical Character. |
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CHAPTER XII.

THE BOOKS OF TOBIAS, JUDITH AND ESTHER.

§ 1. *The Book of Tobias.*

I. Contents, Principal Divisions and General Purpose. This book—the first of the deutero-canonical writings¹—usually bears in the Greek MSS. the title of *Τωβίτ* (*Τωβείτ*, *Τωβήτ*), and in the Latin Vulgate that of *Liber Tobie*, the Book of Tobias.

In its first part (i–iii) it relates the virtues and trials of Tobias, a pious Israelite, who was carried to Ninive in the captivity of the ten tribes by Salmanasar (734–678 B.C.). Under this prince he rose into favor and wealth as a trader at the royal court, and deposited with Gabelus, at Rages in Media, ten talents of silver. But under Sennacherib, Salmanasar's son and successor, he was obliged to flee and reduced to indigence, because he habitually buried those of his nation whom the tyrant slew and ordered to be cast off unburied. After Sennacherib's assassination he was allowed to return to Ninive, under Asarhaddon, at the intercession of Achiacharus,² his brother's son, and continued his practice of burying the murdered Israelites. On the feast of

¹ For the sacred character of Tobias, and the other deutero-canonical books or parts of books of the Old Testament, see the author's "General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," part i.

² This and other such references to Achiacharus are found only in the Septuagint text of Tobias (cfr. i, 21, 22; ii, 10; etc.), which Septuagint text is no less official than that of our Latin Vulgate.

Pentecost there happened the well-known accident through which he lost his eyesight. He bore this affliction with great patience, and was supported at first by Achiacharus, and afterwards by the labor of Anna, his wife. Exceedingly distressed by the taunts of his wife, who on one occasion reproached him with the miserable issue of all his righteous deeds, he prayed to God that he might die. The same day, Sara, daughter of Raguel, Tobias' cousin, was reproached by one of her maids with having slain her seven husbands, each of whom, on the bridal night, had been killed in her chamber by Asmodeus, the evil spirit. She also, greatly grieved, betook herself to God, beseeching Him to grant her death. As a transition to the second part, we are told that, the prayer of Tobias and Sara having been heard by Heaven, the holy angel Raphael was sent to deliver both from their sorrow.

The second part (iv-ix) details the departure and journey of Tobias' son under the protection of Raphael. Tobias, we are told, expecting the speedy end of his life, gave instructions to his son, called also Tobias, telling him of the money deposited with Gabelus. The young Tobias started for Media to fetch the money, accompanied by Raphael, who gave himself for Azarias, the son of the great Ananias, killed an enormous fish while bathing in the Tigris, drew it out of the water, and preserved its heart, liver and gall as useful medicines. As they approached near Ecbatana, Azarias persuaded Tobias to marry Sara, because he was the only man of her kindred. When he hesitated on account of what had befallen her, the angel taught him how to drive away the wicked spirit. The marriage was contracted, and the first night Tobias burnt the heart and liver of the fish, by the smoke of which Asmodeus was put to flight, and, moreover, Raphael bound him with chains in the desert of Upper Egypt. As Tobias was obliged to stay fourteen days

for the wedding feast, he sent the angel to Gabelus for the money, and the latter was brought to the wedding.

The third part (x-xii) describes the Return and the subsequent events. Tobias, accompanied by his wife, Sara, who takes with her the half of her father's fortune as a dowry, returns to his parents, who had already begun to be anxious concerning him. Upon Raphael's advice, Tobias hastens forward before Sara, applies the gall to his father's eyes, and so restores his sight. Achiacharus and Nabath "greatly rejoice for Tobias and congratulate him for all the good things God had done for him." At last, Tobias, the father and the son, offer to the angel five talents of the money received from Gabelus; whereupon Raphael, having disclosed his name and dignity, blessed them and disappeared.

In conclusion, we find a song of praise to God written down by Tobias, containing prophetic glances into the future. It is also added that Tobias attained the age of 158 (in the Vulgate 102), and his son that of 127 (in the Vulgate 99); that he foretold the conversion of the Gentiles and the destruction of Ninive; spoke of Nabath's punishment for his unworthy conduct toward Achiacharus;¹ and that, after his father's death, Tobias withdrew with Sara to Ecbatana, and died there.

It will be easily seen from these general contents that the book of Tobias inculcates important religious truths, such as the value of prayers and almsdeeds, the ministerial function of the holy angels towards men, the power of evil spirits over wicked men, the chief duties of parents toward their children and of the children toward their parents, gratitude to God for His various benefits, etc., etc. Hence it is not surprising to find that scholars should have been divided

¹ Our Vulgate reads Achior, but the Old Latin version had "Achichar," which corresponds exactly to the accurate reading Ἀχιχάρως in the Septuagint.

concerning the actual purpose of the writer, and should have regarded as such the setting forth of one or other of those dogmatic or moral truths. In reality, the writer's chief object was one of more general import, and one to the attainment of which the various religious teachings noticeable in the book of Tobias, when closely examined, will appear subservient. The narrative was written to show that the truly righteous man who continues to trust in God, in good works and in prayer is amply rewarded at last. Piety may suffer for a while; it receives its recompense in the end. This appears from the godliness and passing misfortune of Tobias and Sara in the first part of the book, which prompt God to send Raphael to their help; from the words of the angel to Tobias and his son (xii, 6-10); from the whole concluding chapter, and especially the last words of Tobias to his son;¹ as indeed from the tenor of the entire narrative, wherein all things are described as working together unto good to such as are faithful to the Almighty.² So that "the book of Tobias, like that of Job, is a vindication of Providence; but while in Job the problem of evil is discussed in a theoretical way, in Tobias it is solved, so to speak, in a practical manner by means of a description of ordinary incidents in man's life."³

2. Original Language, Date and Authorship.

It is strong evidence to the charm which the contents of the book of Tobias had for all classes of readers in past ages, that so many texts of it were circulated as to make it practically impossible to define in what language it was primitively written. The most common opinion among scholars is that the work was composed in Hebrew, and that

¹ Cfr. particularly xiv, 1, 10, 11, in the Vatican MS.

² Cfr. LESÊTRE, Introduction, vol. ii, p. 305.

³ VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. ii, n. 534. Cfr. Tobias ii, 12 sqq., in the Vulgate.

all our extant texts (four Greek, three Latin, two Hebrew,¹ one Syriac and one Aramaic) represent but imperfectly the Hebrew original. These various texts exhibit not simply unimportant variations, but also notable divergences in regard to sentences, constructions, names, etc. In reference to our Latin Vulgate in particular, its text can scarcely be considered as very close to the original, inasmuch as its author, St. Jerome, not believing in the canonical character of the book of Tobias, rendered a Chaldaic copy of it into Latin simply "not to disobey the orders of bishops," devoted to this translation only "a single day," and carried it through by means of an interpreter whose renderings he was hardly able to control, owing to his imperfect knowledge of Aramaic.² This accounts, at least partially, for the numerous and important variations existing between it and the Vatican Greek text upon which the Authentic edition of the LXX by Sixtus V. was chiefly based, and which most critics hold in very high esteem.³

In all those texts (except the Vulgate, and the Aramaic recently published by Neubauer) Tobias relates the facts of chaps. i-iii, 6, in the first person, so that many scholars ascribe to him the authorship of that section. Again, from the fact that in several Texts (Sinait., Itala, Hebr., etc.) chap. xii, 20 records the angel's order to Tobias and his son to "write all that had happened" to them, it has been inferred that they actually wrote the book in its present form,⁴ or at least left Memoirs which an editor—nearly contemporary with them—utilized in the composition of this inspired

¹ Those two Hebrew Texts, called *Hebræus Munsteri* and *Hebræus Fagii*, are certainly of recent origin.

² Cfr. the author's "General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," pp. 57, 322; and also JAHN, Introd. to the Old Test., p. 522 (Engl. Transl.).

³ For details in this regard, see Samuel DAVIDSON, Introd. to the Old Test., p. 370 sqq.; E. C. BISSELL, Apocrypha of the Old Test., p. 110 sqq.; H. B. SWETE, Introd. to Old Test. in Greek; GILLET, Tobie, Judith et Esther, p. 13 sqq.; Prof. Rendell HARRIS, in "The American Journal of Theology," for July 1899; etc.

⁴ This is the view of KAULEN, VIGOUROUX, GUTBERLET, GILLET, etc.

writing.¹ As, however, this command is not mentioned in the Vulgate, it does not seem to many scholars that this inference should be considered as conclusive. According to them, the book of Tobias, like that of Ruth, probably received its name from the principal personage in the narrative, and, in the same manner as Ruth and many other books of the Old Covenant, cannot be ascribed to a definite author.

Fully ascertained data that would allow us to assign the composition of this sacred book to a very probable date are likewise wanting. Hence it is that, while some critics admit that it was written "certainly before Esdras, and perhaps even before the Babylonian Exile,"² others think, on at least as probable grounds, that Tobias should be referred to about 200 or 150 B.C.³ In fact the only thing that is perfectly certain in regard to the date of composition is that the book of Tobias was written a considerable time before the Christian era.

3. Historical Character. The last, and undoubtedly most interesting, point to be examined in connection with the book of Tobias is its historical character. The principal arguments usually set forth to prove that this inspired writing contains history proper are briefly as follows: (1) the testimony of antiquity, for Tobias appears in the Septuagint Version and translations derived therefrom, in the Catholic catalogues of the sacred Scriptures, etc., among the historical books; and Catholic interpreters who have commented on its text have done their utmost to vindicate its historical accuracy; (2) the obvious character of the contents. They give so many genealogical, chronological, geo-

¹ This is the view of REUSCH, ZSCHOKKE, CORNELY, etc.

² Cfr. LESÈTRE, *Introduction*, vol. ii, p. 306; VIGOUROUX, *Man. Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 526; etc.

³ Cfr. JAHN, *Introduction*, p. 520; Sam. DAVIDSON, *loc. cit.*, p. 372; etc.

graphical, etc., details that the historical purpose of the writer must needs be admitted: the exact notice of the tribe to which Tobias belonged could hardly be expected in the case of a fiction; still less a number of special accounts of Tobias' family relations which contribute nothing to the object a novelist could have had in view (cfr., for instance, i, 9; viii, 23; ix, 7^b; xi, 1; etc.); (3) the difficulties urged against the historical character of Tobias have all been answered fully, or at least are not greater than in connection with any other historical book of the Old Testament; lastly, (4) the rejection of the historical character of the book of Tobias would, in the minds of some, bring it down to the level of a mythological composition, and therefore impair its fitness to convey dogmatic or moral teachings.

Though desirous not to undervalue the force of these and other such arguments, Catholic scholars¹ in growing number agree with most contemporary critics in regarding them as not conclusive proofs of the historical character of the book of Tobias. According to them the testimony of antiquity is not infallible in such matters;² Tobias was reckoned among the historical writings in the Septuagint Version—whence it passed, in the same order, into the other Versions, and the lists of sacred books,—simply because the Greek translators took it for granted that it had a historical object, since the general character and literary form of its contents apparently pointed in that direction; Catholic interpreters who commented on its text took it all the more readily for granted because, over and above this general character and literary form of the book of Tobias, they

¹ Among whom may be mentioned Rich. SIMON, JAHN, DERESER, MOVERS, Anton SCHOLZ, COSQUIN, etc.

² According to Father LAGRANGE, O P., only a few Fathers of the Church have interpreted the text of Tobias, so that their view concerning the historical character of that book should not be construed into something binding on recent Catholic scholars. (Cfr. *Revue Biblique Internationale*, for 1896, p. 511.)

found it already classed among the historical books in their official translations and catalogues of inspired writings, and in consequence felt in duty bound to dispose of whatever objections had been raised against its historical value. In regard to all the details chronological, geographical, etc., which are appealed to as proofs of the historical purpose of the writer of Tobias, the same Catholic scholars maintain that all such details are naturally to be expected in what we might call a historical romance, and that the book in question reads very much like an edifying story.¹ Further, according to them, even though we should grant, for the sake of supposition, that all the old difficulties urged against the historical character of Tobias have been fully met, new ones, drawn chiefly from a comparison of Tobias with the data of folklore, do not seem to have been satisfactorily answered.² Finally, it seems to them hardly correct to assume that doctrinal and moral teachings cannot be effectively conveyed by means of narratives that would not be strictly historical; for in such a case the incidents would simply furnish lively pictures of the truth which the author wished to inculcate, in about the same manner as in any one of Our Lord's parables, or in the Cantic of Canticles, which Catholic commentators generally have interpreted as a mere allegory.

Having thus shown to their own satisfaction that the arguments in favor of the historical character of Tobias are not conclusive, the scholars who look upon it as something like a historical romance bring forth the following general evidence in favor of their position: ³ (1) in a historical ro-

¹ LAGRANGE, O.P., *loc. cit.*

² This point will be more fully explained in the sequel.

³ Of course Catholic scholars do not deny the historical character of the book of Tobias simply because it records miracles: this would be a Rationalistic position which they explicitly reject. In the present day they usually do not insist much on minute objections drawn from the geographical, historical, etc., data supplied by the book and formerly chiefly used to do away with the historical character of Tobias, because they

mance there are usually coincidences which, while possible, are unlikely in real life, and therefore seem resorted to by the author because necessary, or at least useful, to bring about the conclusion he has in view. Of this description seem to be the following coincidences in the book of Tobias: it was on *the same day* (iii, 7) that Tobias and Sara were unjustly reproached (ii, 22 sq. ; iii, 7 sq.), had the same temptation to despair, and prayed to God for death (iii, 6, 10, 11); it was just in the nick of time that Raphael offered himself to accompany the younger Tobias, and he had to conceal his name in order to be accepted as his guide (v); both Sara and Tobias are the only children of their parents (vi, 11, 15), so that their marriage would be a practical necessity according to Oriental customs; the monstrous fish that was caught with comparative ease by Tobias was just the thing for the twofold purpose of driving Asmodeus away, and healing the elder Tobias (vi, 5, 8, 9); etc. ; (2) in a romance the personages are often made to speak and act with a vague consciousness of something which is supposed to be concealed from them, and this seems to be the case in Tobias v, 21, 27 (Vatican MS., v, 16, 21), in regard to Tobias' words concerning the Angel of the Lord; in vi, 2 sqq., which describes the conduct of the younger Tobias towards his companion as practically towards a guardian angel; in vi, 14 (Vat. MS., vi, 13), which ascribes to the same Tobias a positive knowledge about the fate of Sara's seven husbands; etc.; (3) in a historical romance names as well as facts are often fictitious and have a mystical meaning, and it seems to be so in Tobias in connection with the following proper names: Tobit,¹ *my goodness*; Tobias, *Good is Yahweh*; Anna, *grace*; Raphael, *God heals, the divine healer*; Azarias, *Yahweh is help*; etc.;

think that similar minute difficulties could be urged against writings the historical character of which cannot seriously be questioned.

¹ This is the usual Greek spelling of the name of the elder Tobias.

(4) in a historical romance, many details, however improbable, are recorded because natural in such kind of literary composition. Of this description are the following particulars: two Annas and two Tobias are spoken of; the audacity of no less than seven men trying to marry Sara; the very long journey of the angel who seems to eat and drink, and particularly his very strange journey to Upper Egypt to bind Asmodeus with chains, lest he should come back to trouble Sara again, all the more so because, in a preceding passage, the driving away of wicked spirits, "so that they come no more," is distinctly ascribed "to the burning of a little piece of the fish's heart"; etc., etc.;¹ lastly, (5) in a book the purpose of which is not historical the writer avails himself freely of data which he knows belong to the province of folklore, viz., to legends, tales, etc., and this seems to be the case with the book of Tobias, for its author has apparently borrowed from the tale of the "Grateful Dead" the substance of the episode of Sara's seven husbands, and from the "Story of Achichar" several of the adventures to which he alludes in connection with Achiacharus, in ix, 11; xiv, 10; and i, 21 sq., in Vatic. MS., etc.² It has even been supposed by some Catholic scholars that the name of Asmodeus, the conception of Raphael, etc., which are found in the book of Tobias, are to be connected with names and conceptions belonging originally to Persian mythology.³

Although, as remarked long ago by Richard Simon, "a book certainly remains true and divine whether it be pure

¹ It is sometimes said, also, that the reason given for Asmodeus killing the seven husbands of Sara was the plainly unhistorical love of that wicked spirit for her; but this reason is not given in all the Texts of the book of Tobias, and perhaps is not genuine; it is, however, found in the Vatican and Alexandrine Greek Texts, and appears in the Authentic edition of the Septuagint by Sixtus V.

² For details, see "Revue Biblique Internationale," for 1899, pp. 50-82.

³ Cfr. JAHN, *Introd.*, p. 520; and Emanuel COSQUIN, in "Revue Biblique," *loc. cit.*; etc.

history, or simply parabolic, or again history mixed with parables,"¹ it is none the less certain that Catholics will be slow in admitting that the book of Tobias should cease to be counted among the historical writings of the Old Testament.²

§ 2. *The Book of Judith.*

1. Contents and Purpose. This second deuterocanonical book derives its name from its heroine, Judith, to whom the last nine chapters (viii-xvi) directly refer, and who is described as delivering her native town Bethulia and all Israel from destruction.

In the first part of the book (i-vii) we are told how Nabuchodonosor, king of Ninive in Assyria, made war upon Arphaxad, king of Media, who resided in the strong city of Ecbatana. Having threatened all who would not join him, he marched against the Median king, slew him and overthrew his city. After he and his army had celebrated their victory during 120 days, he resolved to wreak his vengeance on such peoples (among whom the Jews were reckoned) as had refused to him their assistance. A rapid and triumphant march brought his general, Holophernes, to the neighborhood of Bethulia, a small Jewish town on the borders of the Plain of Esdrælon. Great indeed were the fears of the Jews, who had but recently returned from captivity. Yet, under the direction of the high priest Joachim and the elders, they prepared for resistance, and humbled themselves in fasting and prayer.

This unexpected resistance led Holophernes to inquire who this nation was. Whereupon Achior, the chief of the Ammonites, gave a brief history of the Hebrews, in which

¹ Rich. SIMON, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, vol. i, p. 58.

² For a detailed examination of the principal difficulties against the book of Tobias, see VIGOUROUX, CORNELY, GILLET, etc.

he showed that as long as they continued faithful to their God they were invincible, and dissuaded Holophernes from undertaking a war with them unless he knew for a fact that they had sinned against Yahweh. The Assyrian general, enraged at this counsel, ordered Achior to be delivered to the inhabitants of Bethulia, by whom he was well received. The next day Holophernes' troops marched to Bethulia, laid siege to it and cut off its supplies of water. After 34 days the inhabitants were reduced to such extremities that they resolved to surrender should no help reach them within five days.

At this point begins the second part of the book (viii-xvi). Judith, a pious, beautiful and rich widow, hearing of the conditional promise of surrender, blames the governors of Bethulia for having agreed to it, and pledges herself to do a thing that would be perpetually remembered, and to deliver Israel within five days. Splendidly attired, she goes forth by night from the town with her maid. Arrested, she is led to the tent of Holophernes, who greatly admires her beauty. She pretends to be a deserter, and affirms that, as Achior had stated, the Hebrews could not indeed be conquered as long as they were faithful to their God, but that in their misery they are about—with the permission of the Jerusalem *Γερουσία*—to turn into their own use the tithes absolutely sacred to the priests and thus sin against Yahweh. She also requests to be allowed to go out at night and offer her prayers to God, promising to let Holophernes know the time when the Hebrews, having sinned against Yahweh, might be conquered, and to be his guide even to Jerusalem.

Holophernes granted her request, and on the fourth day made a feast on her account, during which he drank to excess. When all the guests had retired and Judith was left alone with the Assyrian general, she cut off his head with his own sword, and under the cover of the night made good

her escape with the bloody trophy. Arrived at Bethulia, she showed the head of Holofernes to the elders, who praised her, and next to Achior, who acknowledged Yahweh's power and embraced the Jewish religion. In the morning the besieged sallied forth, and the Assyrians, deprived of their general, were routed.

The rejoicings of all the Jews—among whom were the high priest and the Jerusalem *Γερουσία*, who came to praise Judith—and the song of Judith, together with an account of the remainder of her life, conclude the book.

From these contents of the book of Judith—which are substantially the same in its various texts¹—it is commonly inferred that the writer's purpose was clearly to show that the all-powerful help of Yahweh will never be wanting to the Jews as long as they continue faithful in His service. It is precisely at the time when they are most sorely tried that God will arise in their behalf, and inflict severe vengeance on their heathen rulers (cfr. v, 22–25 (in Vulg.); xi, 9, 10 (in the Septuagint); xvi, 19–21). “The divine help appears all the more manifest, in this particular instance, because the invading army was more formidable, and because the deliverance was wrought out through the agency of a woman. The virtues of Judith, such as her chastity, piety, prudence, courage, patriotism, are also—though in a

¹ The book of Judith, like that of Tobias, was probably composed in Hebrew. Like the book of Tobias, too, it has come down to us in different texts, two of which, “the Greek and Latin, are considered as *authentic* by the Church” (LESÊTRE, *Introd.*, vol. ii. p. 316), although the Latin differs much from the Greek. It is considerably shorter (it omits iv, 8–15; v, 11–20, 22–24; vi, 15 sq.; etc.), the omissions being due probably to the Aramaic text used by St. Jerome, probably also to the hurried and imperfect manner in which he translated a book whose inspired character he rejected. He describes himself the manner in which he made his translation, in the following terms: “Huic unam lucubrationem dedi, magis sensum e sensu, quam ex verbo verbum transferens. Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi; sola ea, quæ intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldæis invenire potui Latinis expressi.” (*Præf. in librum Judith.*) For details concerning these different texts, see Otto F. FRITZSCHE, *Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*; Samuel DAVIDSON, *Introd.*, vol. ii; GILLET, *Judith*, p. 82 sqq.; etc.

secondary manner—set forth for the imitation of the reader, and the happy issue of her heroic undertaking¹ should inspire the Jews with patience and confidence in God when groaning under the oppression of pagan conquerors.”¹

2. Principal Opinions regarding Authorship. In connection with the book of Judith, as in connection with many other writings of the Old Testament, the name of the author cannot be given. We are often told, it is true, that St. Jerome seems to ascribe the authorship of the book to Judith herself; but this view is based only on a mistaken rendering of the holy doctor's words: “*si quis tamen vult recipere librum mulieris,*”² inasmuch as these words refer directly to the heading of the book, without affirming anything relatively to authorship. Sixtus of Sienna attributed the book to the high priest Eliacim, spoken of in Judith iv, 5; xv, 9; Huet, and Calmet, O.S.B., to Josue, the high priest contemporary with Zorobabel;³ O. Wolf, to Achior the Ammonite.⁴ But it is manifest that these and other such ascriptions of the book to a definite author are simply guesses at authorship; so that it is better to refrain from putting forth any name, and simply to confess that data toward the solution of the problem are wanting.⁵

3. Date: Probably after the Babylonian Captivity. As regards the date of composition of Judith contemporary scholars are less unwilling to venture an opinion than in regard to its authorship. According to some (Scholz, Vigou-roux, etc.) the facts recorded happened most likely under Assurbanipal,⁶ the son of Asarhaddon and grandson of

¹ H. LESÊTRE, loc. cit., p. 314.

² Comment. on Aggeus (Patr. Lat., vol. xxv, col. 1394).

³ Cfr. II Esdras xii, 1.

⁴ Judith v, 5; vi, 7; etc.

⁵ Cfr. VIGOUROUX, Man. Biblique, vol. ii, n. 538; LESÊTRE, loc. cit., p. 315; etc.

⁶ Cfr., in LXX, Judith iv, 3; v, 18 sq. (Vulg., v, 22 sq.).

Sennacherib, and are recorded in such detail as to imply that they were written down soon after they occurred; whence they infer that the book of Judith was composed before the Babylonian captivity. As, however, the return from Babylon is alluded to as past, this opinion should be rejected.¹ According to others (Welte, Zschokke, Nikes, Danko, Lesêtre, etc.) Judith was written during the Babylonian exile, chiefly because the minute details given in the narrative seem to require that its composition should be placed as close as possible to the time at which they occurred.² Others, however, (among whom may be mentioned such Catholic writers as Jahn, Movers, Ackermann, Lenormant, Anton Scholz, etc.,) and indeed with greater probability, refer the book of Judith to the period after the Captivity. The principal grounds for this last date are briefly as follows: The tone of the narrative seems to imply that the Jewish people had long been in a state of oppression on the part of heathen rulers, and of such long period of oppression we know, in Jewish history, only after the Babylonian Exile. The eves of the Sabbath and of new moon are mentioned, as well as the *Περουσία* or Sanhedrim of Jerusalem (cfr. iv, 8; viii, 6; xv, 8), which apparently also point to a late date after the Restoration. To these arguments Jahn³ adds: "The practice observed throughout the work of making set speeches in the Grecian style, which agrees with the Syrian period, and proves that the author lived at a time when, as was the case in the Machabean age, the Hebrews were acquainted with Grecian literature. . . . The circumcision of Achior, which is not indeed at variance with an ancient date, but suits a modern one better." Lastly, a date long after the Return from

¹ Cfr. JAHN, *Introd.*, § 241, p. 526 (Engl. Transl.); LESÊTRE, *loc. cit.*, p. 315; etc.

² Cfr. CORNELY, *Introd.*, vol. ii, part i, p. 413 sq.

³ *Introd. to the Old Testament*, p. 528 (Engl. Transl.).

Babylon would best account for its absence from the so-called Canon of Esdras.¹

4. Arguments for and against Historical Character. Another vexed question connected with the book of Judith is that of its historical character. Most Catholic scholars believing in this historical character appeal in favor of their position to the testimony of antiquity. Even St. Jerome, they say, who did not admit the canonicity of that inspired writing, bears witness to the fact that the ancient Jews numbered Judith among their historical records; and the most illustrious fathers of the Church who preceded him (St. Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, St. Ambrose, etc.) regarded the great heroine of the book as unquestionably a historical personage. A second argument in favor of the same position is drawn from the contents themselves of the book. It is clear, we are told, that the historical data supplied by the whole work, and especially by the first part (i-vii), which is entirely made up of geographical, chronological, etc., details, should lead us to admit its historical object. Lastly, it is claimed that all the difficulties urged in the name of the historical sciences against the accuracy of the book of Judith have met with plausible answers. The precise period to which the events narrated may be ascribed is that of King Manasses (698-644 B.C.). While this prince was in captivity with part of his people, the high priest and the elders of the Jewish nation naturally took the lead against foreign invaders, and the inscriptions of Assurbani-pal (668-625) which have been recently discovered confirm in many ways the detailed accounts given in the book of Judith.²

¹ Cfr. the author's "General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," part i.

² Cfr. VIGOUROUX, *Bible et Découvertes Modernes*, vol. iv, livre iii, chap. v.

To these arguments the advocates of the non-historical book of Judith reply in the same way as to those adduced in favor of the historical purpose of Tobias. According to them, the testimony of the Church Fathers, even though we should suppose it unanimous, would not decide authoritatively a question which belongs to historical criticism, and the historical details noticed in Judith might just as well be found in a historical romance. As regards the inscriptions of Assurbanipal so far discovered, however much they might confirm the data in the first part of Judith, they cannot be appealed to in reference to its second part, for they are completely wanting in connection with the second half of Assurbanipal's reign.¹ Indeed, in spite of the Assyrian data which we now possess, there are still "*real difficulties*," as admitted by Fr. Vigouroux and others,² in reference to the historical and geographical statements in the book of Judith.

Having thus dealt with the grounds in favor of the historical character of the book of Judith, its opponents bring forth two chief arguments as disproving it. According to them it is impossible to point out a period — even a probable one — in Jewish history to which the events narrated in Judith, if strictly historical, can be assigned. Such a period cannot be imagined either before or after the Babylonian Captivity: (A) not before the Exile, for distinct statements concerning the Return are met with in the sacred record,³ and their actual reference to the return from the Babylonian Exile is put beyond doubt by the name of the high priest Joachim, the son of Josue and contemporary with Zorobabel, given in Judith xv, 9 (in both the Vulg. and the LXX

¹ Cfr. art. *Arphaxad*, in VIGOUROUX, Dict. de la Bible.

² Les Livres Saints et la Critique Rationaliste, vol. iv, p. 565 (3d edit., 1891). See also art. *Assurbanipal* in VIGOUROUX, Dict. de la Bible; CORNELY, Introduct. Specialis, vol. ii, p. i, pp. 402, 404; etc.

³ Judith iv, 3; v, 18 sq. (in LXX); v. 22, 23 (in Vulg.).

Texts),¹ as also by the form of government then in vigor, viz., the high-priesthood together with the *Γερουσία* or Sanhedrim of Jerusalem;² (B) nor after the Exile, for, as forcibly stated by Jahn: "The Hebrews were 207 years subject to the Persians, then to Alexander, to the Ptolemies, the kings of Egypt, and, last of all, to the kings of Syria, till they recovered their liberty. If anything like the matter of this history had happened, it must have happened in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. But this is at variance with the statement that the Hebrews had had *their temple destroyed*, and had been carried captive, but now, having *returned only a short time before*, had restored the temple and worship of God. Moreover, no age in all this period witnessed an Arphaxad king of Media, or a Nabuchodonosor king of Ninive. This last place did not even exist, for it had been destroyed by Nabopolassar, 625 B.C., and was never afterward rebuilt." ³

The second argument usually set forth against the historical character of the book of Judith is the general tone of the work, which seems to be rather that of a non-historical writing. "Many of the proper names, for instance, seem to have been selected with special reference to the characters they represent in the story. Such are Judith, 'Jewess'; Achior, 'brother of light'; Bethulia, 'virgin of Yahweh'; and Nabuchodonosor, as a common designation for a dreaded, hostile sovereign." ⁴ A large number of details, while very unlikely in themselves, distinctly make for the general effect and purpose of the book when considered as a historical

¹ Cfr. Nehemias xii, 10 sqq.

² The time of Manasses' captivity in Babylon seems to be excluded in several ways: (1) a return from Babylon could not be spoken of; (2) could it be spoken of, then the returned king, not the high priest, would be the ruler of the time; (3) in Manasses' time idolatry flourished in Palestine, and this is excluded by Judith's statements, viii, 18 sq.; etc.

³ Jno. JAHN, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, p. 526 sq. (Engl. Transl.).

⁴ E. C. BISSELL, *The Apocrypha of the Old Test.*, p. 159.

romance: see, for instance, the discourse of Achior the Ammonite, in chap. v ; the manner in which Judith speaks of what she will do, in chap. viii, 32 (in LXX) ; the character of Judith, far from praiseworthy in many respects, and yet highly praised for all she did (cfr. ix, 13; xii, 10 sqq.; etc.; xv, 9 sq.); the canticle ascribed to Judith in xvi; etc.

It should be added, however, that many of those who reject the historical character of the book as a whole, admit readily that it may have a historical basis, and that Judith herself was a historical personage.¹

§ 3. *The Book of Esther.*

1. Contents and Principal Divisions. The book of Esther—important parts of which are deutero-canonical²—is thus named from the Jewish maiden who became queen of the Persian king Assuerus and successfully rescued her

¹ Prof. Anton SCHOLZ denies all historicity to the book of Judith; not so, apparently, the other Catholic scholars, such as Rich. Simon, B. Lamy, Jahn, Movers, etc., who reject the historical character of that inspired writing.

² These fragments are seven in number. As they were not found in the Hebrew, but only in the Old Latin and the Κοινή Ἐκδόσις, St. Jerome did not believe in their canonical character and consequently put them simply at the end of his Latin translation, indicating at the same time the place to which they referred in the narrative. In our summary of the contents of the book we assign to them their proper place; but we subjoin a scheme showing their respective positions in the LXX and the Vulgate:

	Place in the LXX.	Place in the Vulgate.
1. The dream of Mardochai explained; the book carried into Egypt . . .	x, 4-xi, 1.	x, 4-xi, 1.
2. The dream of Mardochai, and plot of the two eunuchs	Prologue before i, 1.	xi, 2-xii.
3. Edict of Assuerus against the Jews..	After iii, 13.	xiii, 1-7.
4. The prayers of Mardochai and Esther	After iv, 17.	xiii, 8-xiv.
5. Mardochai's advice to Esther to petition the king for the Jews.	After iv, 8.	xv, 1-3.
6. The scene between Assuerus and Esther	x, 1-2.	xv, 4-19.
7. The king's edict in favor of the Jews.....	After viii, 13.	xvi.

As regards the primitive language and position of those fragments, cfr. DE ROSSI, *Specimen variarum lectionum* (Tübingen, 1783).

countrymen from the destruction compassed by Aman, the king's favorite courtier.

The dream of Mardochai, which opens the book and is a summary of its contents, speaks of two great dragons which fought against each other, and whose fight would have caused the destruction "of the nation of the just" had not a little fountain soon grown into a river and saved God's people.

The first part of the book (i-iii, 15; xii-xiii, 7) relates the events which gradually led to the issuing of a decree of extermination against the Jews. Esther, without regard to her Jewish origin, was raised to the dignity of queen by Assuerus, the Persian king. Not long afterwards, her kinsman Mardochai discovered the plot of two eunuchs against the monarch, and through Esther gave information of it to Assuerus, who had them put to death at once. This execution irritated Aman, who, having become prime minister of the kingdom, was refused by Mardochai the prostration which the Persian king had ordered all to pay to him. Thereupon Aman secured a royal edict commanding that all the Jews in the whole empire should be put to death in one day.

In the second part (iv-x, 3; xiii, 8-xv) we are told of the manner in which the Jews were rescued from destruction. Mardochai sent a messenger to Esther, entreating her to appear before Assuerus in behalf of the Jewish nation, and to this the queen consented. She met with a gracious reception and requested that the king and Aman would dine with her. During the banquet she made and obtained a similar request for the next day. This second invitation puffed up Aman, who erected a cross at his house, intending that the next day the hated Mardochai should be fastened thereon. But this very night the sleepless monarch had the annals of his reign read to him, and, having been told that Mardochai

had not been rewarded for his former service, ordered in the morning Aman to bestow upon him almost royal honors. During the evening banquet, Esther accused the prime minister of plotting against her life and that of her people; whereupon Aman was fastened to the gibbet he had prepared for Mardochai. The latter, having succeeded to Aman's charge, obtained from Assuerus permission for the Jews to take a bloody revenge upon their enemies, and, in memory of the deliverance of his people, instituted the annual feast of Phurim.

The book concludes with the description of the greatness of Assuerus and of his Jewish prime minister, whose dream had been perfectly fulfilled (xvi).

2. Purpose, Author and Date of Composition.

These contents of the book of Esther resemble in many ways those of the book of Judith. In both inspired writings a woman appears as the chief instrument toward the deliverance of the Jews from an imminent danger, and in both no miracle is described to account for the deliverance of God's chosen people from their pagan rulers. Prayer plays an important part in both cases, and a revengeful spirit betrays itself in both writings, which likewise terminate by the institution of a festival destined to commemorate the successful issue of the fight between the Jews and their oppressors. These and other such resemblances point apparently to one and the same general purpose, which in the case of the book of Esther is undoubtedly to inculcate upon the Jews the great lesson that God watches over His chosen people in the midst of their trials, and in due time brings about the destruction of their enemies.¹

¹ Cfr. Esther x, 4-12. Cfr. H. LÊSETRE, *Introd.*, vol. ii, p. 325 sq.; W. H. BENNETT, *A Primer of the Bible*, p. 111. This lesson, however, comes out distinctly only from the complete text of Esther in the LXX and the Vulgate. The Hebrew form of the book does not contain any mention of God's name, or the prayers of Esther and Mardochai to the Almighty.

Side by side with this main object of the narrative of Esther there is another which, however secondary, should not be lost sight of. It is highly probable that it was also written with a view to explain the origin of the feast of Phurim and to suggest motives for its observance.¹ Such a signal national triumph well deserved to be perpetually remembered, and the book which recorded it in detail soon acquired great popularity among the Jews.

While these aims of the author of the book of Esther can be ascertained by means of the contents of his work, his own name will ever remain unknown, through lack of both intrinsic and extrinsic evidence. It is true that the Talmud (*Baba bathra* 15^a) assigns the authorship to the *Great Synagogue*; but, as is now commonly admitted by biblical scholars, the existence of such a body of Jewish rabbis whose mission it was to settle the questions relative to the Sacred Scriptures is, to say the least, doubtful; so that in connection with the present question, as in connection with many others referring to Holy Writ, what is often styled the tradition of the Jews cannot be depended upon. It is true also that Clement of Alexandria, on the basis of ix, 20, has ascribed the book to Mardochai; but this passage refers to him only the authorship of official letters prescribing the observance of the feast of Phurim, and Mardochai is spoken of in the third person; St. Augustine has thought of Esdras as the possible author; etc. In reality, the name of the author is "unknown,"² although many of those who regard the book of Esther as a historical work still surmise that it is based on memoirs left by Mardochai, and utilized by an inspired editor nearly contemporary with him. Their main

¹ In the eyes of those who reject the deuterocanonical fragments this is the principal object of the book of Esther. But, as proved in the author's "General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," these fragments must be considered as sacred and canonical.

² VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 549.

ground is the close acquaintance evinced by the writer with Persian life and institutions, with the character of Xerxes as made known to us by other sources of information, etc.¹ But it will be readily seen that such close acquaintance can be sufficiently accounted for by admitting that documents contemporary with the events, though not written by Mardochai, have been faithfully reproduced by a writer even later than the overthrow of the Persian domination. Indeed several facts seem to require that we should admit for the composition of the book of Esther a date later than the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.). This is the case (1) with the statements in i, 1 sq., where it is implied that Susan had ceased to be the capital of the Persian kingdom, a thing which came to pass only after Alexander's conquest; where also the extent of Assuerus' dominion is described in a vague way, as though unknown at the time of writing; (2) with the explanations of Persian usages which are given in i, 13, 19; iv, 11; viii, 8, for this seems to imply that such usages have long been unfamiliar to the readers; (3) with the spirit of separatedness from the Gentiles,² the sense of wrong in the mind of the Jews, the spirit of revenge—against which Our Lord will one day enter a protest³—which agree better with a time much later than Xerxes' reign, and point to "the specifically Jewish spirit, as that spirit was gradually formed under the pressure of foreign rule in post-exilic times";⁴ (4) with "the diction which would well agree with the Greek period or even the 3d cent. B.C., for, though superior to that of the Chronicler, and more accommodated to the model of the earlier books, it contains many late

¹ For the other grounds see H. LÊSETRE, Introduction, vol. ii, p. 329.

² Cfr. Esther iii, 8; etc.

³ Matt. v, 43; Luke ix, 54, 55.

⁴ E. KAUTZSCH, An Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament, p. 131.

words and idioms, and exhibits much deterioration in syntax";¹ lastly, (5) with the references to "the Macedonians," and to the plot of Aman as an attempt on his part at transferring "the king of the Persians to the Macedonians," which are found in xvi, 10, 14.

3. Principal Arguments for and against Historical Character. Three principal opinions have been admitted during the course of the nineteenth century respecting the historical character of the book of Esther. Most Catholic and a comparatively few Protestant scholars maintain still that the narrative is thoroughly historical. The following are their principal grounds: (1) the writer of the book clearly intended to compose a historical work, for he gives diligently the names of even unimportant personages,² refers distinctly to the annals of the Persians,³ and oftentimes notes down the year, month, or even day on which an event occurred;⁴ (2) the feast of Phurim (or "lots"), celebrated in the time of Josephus⁵ by all the Jews scattered throughout the world, and alluded to in the second book of the Machabees⁶ as "the day of Mardochai," is down to the present day a standing memorial of the episode recorded in the book of Esther; (3) the minute accuracy in regard to Persian manners and customs, especially in connection with the palace at Susan, is borne out by modern travellers and explorers,⁷ and fully supported by Herodotus and other ancient writers; (4) the conduct of Assuerus is in harmony with the vain, capricious character of Xerxes as

¹ DRIVER, *Introd. to Literat. of Old Test.*, p. 484.

² Esther i, 10, 14; ii, 8, 14, 21; v, 10; etc.

³ Cfr. ii, 23; vi, 1; x, 2.

⁴ Cfr. i, 3; ii, 16; iii, 7, 13; viii, 12; ix, 1.

⁵ Cfr. *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book xi, chap. vi, § 13.

⁶ II Mach. xv, 37.

⁷ Cfr. G. RAWLINSON, *Historical Illustrations of the Old Test.*, p. 208 sqq. (Chicago, 1880); MORIER; FERGUSSON; and especially DIEULAFOY, *La Perse*; A Suse, *journal des fouilles*; Le livre d'Esther et le Palais d'Assuérus; etc.

known through other sources of information,¹ and may therefore account for several details in the narrative which might otherwise appear incredible; (5) it may be gathered from Herodotus (Book vii, chap. viii) that Xerxes held a great council of war in the third year of his reign before he started for Greece, and that he returned to his capital in the spring of his seventh year²—and this agrees with the dates assigned to his great feast and his choice of Esther to succeed Vasthi;³ (6) the narrative, though containing very many proper names, does not exhibit a single one that may not be regarded as belonging to the idiom of Cyrus and Darius: now this would not be possible in the work of a writer who would have composed a historical romance after the conquests of Alexander the Great.⁴

Other scholars, struck with what they consider the historical improbabilities of the contents of Esther, regard the whole book as a work of pure imagination, written for the purpose of rendering the feast of Phurim popular among the Jews. Among these improbabilities may be mentioned the six months' feast (i, 4), which involved almost a full year's absence of the Persian governors from their respective provinces; the stupidity of the decree that "husbands should be rulers and masters in their houses" (i, 22), though framed by "wise men"; the representation of Esther as the queen (ii, 16 sq.; iii, 7; cfr. i, 19) between the seventh and ninth years of Xerxes' reign, for the queen at that time was Amestris, and further the queen was to be selected from the seven noble families of Persia;⁵ the age of Mar-

¹ Cfr., for instance, HERODOTUS, *History*, Book vii, chaps. xxiv, xxxv, xxxvii-xxxix; Book ix, chap. cviii. See also VIGOUROUX, *Livres Saints et Critique Rationaliste*, vol. iv.

² HERODOTUS, *History*, Book ix, chaps. cvii-cix.

³ Esther i, 3; ii, 6.

⁴ Cfr. J. OFFERT, in *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne* (1864), and *Revue des Etudes Juives* (1894).

⁵ HERODOTUS, *History*, Book vii, chap. cxiv; Book ix, chap. cix sq.; Book iii, chap. xxxiv.

dochai, "at least 130," as inferred from ii, 6-7 and xi, 4, and of Esther, hardly young enough to charm Assuerus by her beauty (ii, 17); the public notification of the decree for the destruction of the Jews *eleven* months before it should be carried out; the ignorance of Esther's nationality by both Assuerus and Aman, though she constantly communicated with Mardochai frequently present "in the king's gate" and well known as a Jew (iii, 4, 6); the un-Oriental long toleration of Mardochai by Aman; the immense slaughter of Persians by the Jews, despite their superiority in numbers; etc., etc.¹ Beside these improbabilities, the same critics bid us to bear in mind that "the narrative as a whole seems to read as a romance rather than as a history: the incidents at each stage seem laid so as to prepare for the next, which duly follows without hitch or interruption."² Of this description may be mentioned the dream preparatory to the whole story, and usually found in dramatic compositions; the reason for the delay between the third and the seventh year, which is explained by the long preparations necessary for the introduction of each woman to the king (ii, 12, 14, 17), although several had already been presented to him (ii, 17); the plot of the eunuchs discovered by Mardochai, who, however, is not fittingly rewarded; the offence taken by Aman, yet not punished at once; the invitation to a second banquet by Esther; the preparing of the gallows for Mardochai; the wakeful night of Assuerus (vi); the mortification of Aman; the significant words of his wife and wise men (vi, 13); Assuerus' departure from the place of the banquet, and Aman's entreaty for his own life (vii, 7); the eunuch's proposal to hang Aman instead of Mardochai, which presupposes his knowledge of the gallows erected in

¹ For answers to some of these difficulties, see VIGOUROUX, *Bible et Découvertes Modernes*; H. LÉSETRE, *Introd.*, vol. ii; etc.

² DRIVER, *Introd.*, p. 482 sq. See also E. KAUTZSCH, *loc. cit.*, p. 130; HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. Esther (book of). p. 775.

Aman's house,—all this, and more, forms, we are told, a series of contrasts and coincidences which culminates precisely in the fulfilment of Mardochai's dream, so that the romantic character of the whole book is manifest to every attentive reader.

In answer to the argument from the feast of Phurim, those who deny the historical character of the book of Esther allege that the story of Esther was engrafted on a festival already in vogue among the Jews, and "probably connected with the Persian Phurdigan festival, a Spring and New Year's feast, which was also kept in memory of the dead, and on which the Persians still send to each other presents and sweets."¹ By means of this story, it is said, the festival obtained a more national character and soon became very widely observed.

According to a third opinion, the writer shows himself so well acquainted with Persian manners and institutions that "the narrative cannot reasonably be doubted to have a substantial historical basis; yet it includes items that are not strictly historical. The elements of the narrative were supplied to the author by tradition, and, aided by his knowledge of Persian life and customs, he combined them into a consistent picture. In some cases the details were colored already by tradition before they came to the author's hand; in other cases they owe their present form to the author's love of dramatic effect."²

This last opinion is the one more widely accepted among contemporary Critics.

¹ E. KAUTZSCH, *loc. cit.*, p. 131 (Engl. Transl.); D. G. WILDEBOER, on Esther; etc. The connection of the Hebrew feast of Phurim with a heathen festival has been urged on the basis that Mardochai reminds us of Marduk; Aman, of the Elamite god Humman; Vashti, of an Elamite goddess; and Esther, of Ishtar. (KAUTZSCH, *ibid.*, footn.)

² DRIVER, *Introd.*, p. 483.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XIII.

THE BOOKS OF THE MACHABEES.

<p>I.</p> <p>THE FIRST BOOK</p> <p>OF</p> <p>THE MACHABEES:</p>	{	<p>1. Name and General Contents.</p> <p>2. Original Language (Hebrew or Aramaic).</p> <p>3. Author and Date of Composition.</p> <p>4. Historical Value generally Admitted.</p>
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<p>II.</p> <p>THE SECOND BOOK</p> <p>OF</p> <p>THE MACHABEES:</p>	{	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 10%; vertical-align: top;">1. Contents:</td> <td style="width: 5%; vertical-align: middle; text-align: center;">{</td> <td style="width: 85%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>The Opening Letters (i, 1-10^a; i, 10^b-ii, 19).</p> <p>The Preface to the Work (ii, 20-33).</p> <p>The Narratives Proper (iii-x, 9; x, 10-xv, 37) and Conclusion (xv, 38-40).</p> </td> </tr> </table> <p>2. Purpose and Language.</p> <p>3. Author and Date of Composition.</p> <p>4. Historical Value of its Component Parts.</p>	1. Contents:	{	<p>The Opening Letters (i, 1-10^a; i, 10^b-ii, 19).</p> <p>The Preface to the Work (ii, 20-33).</p> <p>The Narratives Proper (iii-x, 9; x, 10-xv, 37) and Conclusion (xv, 38-40).</p>
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CHAPTER XIII.

THE BOOKS OF THE MACHABEES.

§ 1. *The First Book of the Machabees.*

1. Name and General Contents. The name of the first deuterocanonical book of the Machabees is derived from that of the heroic family which led the war of independence against the Syrian rulers. As the valiant deeds of the Machabees form its chief contents, it has naturally received the name of those glorious champions of Jewish liberty;¹ so that its usual title—like that of most historical writings of the Old Testament—has no reference to authorship.²

After a brief introduction (i, 1-9) concerning the conquests of Alexander the Great and the partition of his empire among his generals (331-175 B.C.), the writer narrates, in the first part of his work (i, 10-ii), how the efforts of Antiochus Epiphanes to root out national customs and worship from among the Jews led to an uprising headed by Mathathias and his sons, how also the aged Mathathias soon

¹ This is true likewise of our second deuterocanonical book of the Machabees. In regard to the more probable meaning of the word "Machabees," see the author's "Outlines of Jewish History," p. 340; and E. C. BISSELL, *The Apocrypha*, p. 474 sq. Details concerning the Apocryphal (3d and 4th) books of the Machabees will be found in the author's "General Introd. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures," p. 130 sqq.; and art. Maccabees, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii, p. 192 sqq.

² ORIGEN (in EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book vi, chap. xxv) speaks of "the Machabees (Τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ) as inscribed *Sarbeth Sarbanaiel*," a title the meaning of which cannot be ascertained.

succumbed under the severe fatigues of an active campaign (161 B.C.). The second part of the book (iii–ix, 22) relates in detail the various events which took place under the leadership of Judas Machabeus, and which terminated in the defeat and death of that hero early in 161 B.C. The third part (ix, 23–xii) describes the substitution of Jonathan instead of his brother Judas Machabeus, and his leadership and high-priesthood, till he was treacherously captured by the Syrian general Tryphon (141 B.C.). The fourth part (xiii–xvi, 22), after having recorded the accession of Simon, the eldest son of Mathathias, tells of his prudent and skilful administration as the prince and hereditary high priest of the Jews, and concludes with the statement that the remainder of his history is contained in “the book of the days of his priesthood” (xvi, 23, 24). These four parts cover a period of 40 years (175–135 B.C.), from the accession of Antiochus IV. to the death of Simon, and are chiefly concerned with the heroic deeds of the four great Machabean leaders: Mathathias, Judas, Jonathan and Simon.

2. Original Language: Hebrew or Aramaic. The two oldest forms under which the first book of the Machabees has come down to us are the Greek and the Latin texts. As regards the latter, it has always, and justly, been considered as a generally faithful and accurate rendering of the Septuagint text.¹ The Greek form, on the contrary, has sometimes been regarded as exhibiting the primitive text of that sacred book. The well-nigh universal view, however, at the present day, is that the Greek text is also a translation from the original Hebrew. “The internal evidence point-

¹ Owing to the fact that St. Jerome did not believe in the canonical character of the first book of the Machabees, and hence declined to render it into Latin, our Latin text embodied in the Vulgate is a part of the Old Latin Version which goes back to the early days of Christianity. For details concerning the canonicity of the books of the Machabees, and the antiquity and characteristics of the Old Latin Version, see the author's “General Introduct. to the Study of the Holy Scriptures.”

ing in this direction is," as we are told by a recent scholar,¹ "cumulative and convincing. The cast of the sentences is decisive in favor of a Hebrew original: Old Testament phrases are constantly incorporated; and the Hebraistic character of the Greek is very pronounced. Such expressions as the opening phrase, 'And it came to pass' (cfr. Judg. i, 1; Ruth i, 1; Esdras i, 1; etc.); 'the saying was good in their eyes' (I Mach. i, 13); 'after two full years,' literally *years of days* (i, 29); 'and it became a place to lie in wait in against the sanctuary,' lit. *and it became for an ambush*, etc. (i, 36); 'the sons of pride' (ii, 47); 'neither suffered they the sinner to triumph,' lit. *gave they a horn to a sinner* (ii, 48); etc., . . . inevitably suggest a Hebrew original.

. . . There are besides throughout the book several passages the difficulties of which can be explained only on the hypothesis of errors in translation (for inst., vi, 1; xi, 28; xiv, 5)." This internal evidence is apparently confirmed by the testimony of St. Jerome († 420), who, in his *Prologus Galeatus*, writes: "Machabæorum primum librum hebraicum reperi."

In reality, the question of the original language of the first book of the Machabees is not one as between Hebrew and Greek, but one as between Hebrew and Aramaic. The vernacular of Palestine in the period immediately before Christ was certainly Aramaic, and much, if not all, of the Hebraistic diction usually pointed out as proving a Hebrew original is easily accounted for by supposing an Aramaic original, in the same way as the many Hebraisms of the Greek Gospel according to St. Matthew point not directly to a Hebrew, but simply to an Aramaic, original text. St. Jerome says indeed that he found the first book of the Machabees

¹ Rev. W. FAIRWEATHER, *The First Book of Maccabees*, in the Cambridge Bible Series, p. 40 sq.; see also VIGOURoux, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 565; Sam. DAVIDSON, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. iii; etc.

in the Hebrew language, but he does not affirm explicitly that this was its original language;¹ and the title of *Sarbeth Sarbanaiel* given by Origen († 254) to at least the first book of the Machabees is not unlikely an Aramaic heading.²

3. Author and Date of Composition. Both internal and external evidence are equally lacking in regard to the name of the author of the first book of the Machabees. Hence it is by a pure conjecture—and indeed one which appears in opposition to chap. xvi, 23, 24—that Bellarmin, Cornelius à Lapide, and a few other scholars have ascribed the book to John Hyrcanus, the son and successor of Simon Machabeus. Some other names—for instance, those of Simon, one of the sons of Mathathias; Judas, mentioned in II Mach. ii, 14 as having “gathered together all such things as were lost by the war we had”; etc.—have also been set forth. In reality, as remarked long ago by St. Isidore of Seville,³ the author’s name is absolutely unknown. He was most likely a Palestinian Jew, as may be inferred from his language, his accurate acquaintance with the Holy Land, and his deep sympathy with the heroes whose deeds he records.

As regards the time at which he composed his work only an approximate date can be given. The latest date to which it can be assigned can indeed be determined with certainty, for, as granted by all, the unsuspecting and even laudatory manner in which the author speaks of the Romans

¹ Cfr. Abbé GILLET, *Les Machabées*, p. 23; H. EWALD, *History of Israel*, vol. v, p. 464 (footn. 3, Engl. Transl.).

² Cfr. Emil SCHÜRER, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, vol. iii, second division, p. o (New York, 1891). See also Bp. HANNEBERG, *Histoire de la Révélation Biblique*, vol. ii, p. 106 (French Transl.). The Syriac translation of I Machab. embodied in vol. iv of the London Polyglott was made directly from the Greek.

³ On Etymologies, Book vi, chap. ii. (MIGNE, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 82, col. 233.) See VIGOUROUX, *loc. cit.*, n. 566; GILLET, *loc. cit.*, p. 24; CORNELY, *Int od.*, vol. ii, part i, p. 453; etc.

in chap. viii makes it plain that he wrote before Pompey plundered Jerusalem, in 64 B.C. But it is not so with the earliest date to which it should be ascribed, for the reference to the annals of the high-priesthood of John Hyrcanus for further details concerning that prince, which is found in its concluding verses (xvi, 23, 24), can be understood in two different ways. It may imply that the first book of the Machabees was composed during the government of Hyrcanus or after his death, which occurred in 105 B.C.¹ References of this kind are usually to well-known works already in circulation, so that the passage seems to point to a public document which would hardly have been current till after it narrated the death of that high priest. If so, the first book of the Machabees must have been written between these two limits, between 105 and 64 B.C.; but the exact year cannot be determined. As, however, it contains no allusion to any event later than the death of John Hyrcanus, the likelihood is that no considerable time elapsed between the composition of the work and the demise of the prince, and that it belongs to the first or second decade of the first century before our era.

4. Historical Value. Composed so near the events which it narrates, the 1st book of the Machabees has a great historical value even in the eyes of Protestant scholars who do not admit its sacred character. This is the case, for instance, with C. L. W. Grimm,² who calls it "a record of priceless value"; with H. Ewald,³ who says that "it breathes the freshest inspiration of the peculiar elevation of the time"; and with Emil Schürer,⁴ who regards it as "one of the most

¹ Cfr. VIGOUROUX, loc. cit.

² Exeget. Handbuch zu I Maccab.

³ History of Israel, vol. v, p. 463 (Engl. Transl., 1874).

⁴ History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, divis. ii, vol. iii, p. 8 (Engl. Transl., 1891).

valuable sources we possess for the history of the Jewish people."

Such a high estimate of the historical value of the book is fully justified by an examination of its contents. "The writer's habit," says a recent Protestant commentator already quoted, "of dating the chief events according to a fixed era (the Seleucid era of B.C. 312); the general agreement of his chronology with that of Greek and Roman authors, and with the data furnished by extant coins of that period; the frankness and self-restraint shown by him in chronicling victory or defeat on the part of the Jews, and in speaking of their adversaries; the absence from his pages of tawdry ornamentation and weak supernaturalism,—all combine to give to his work the stamp of authentic history. So that, in spite of the clever attempt made by the brothers E. F. and G. Wernsdorf, about the middle of the 18th cent., to discredit I Maccab. as a historical work, there is but one verdict among critics with regard to its general trustworthiness."¹ To this it may be added that the sacred writer has certainly utilized written and oral sources of information" which, owing to their contemporaneousness with the events, must needs be considered as materials of the greatest historical value.

It is true that certain critics have endeavored to point out occasional errors in the narrative—such, for instance, according to them, as the representation in i, 6 of Alexander the Great as dividing his empire among his officers; the wrong ideas expressed in viii, 1 sqq. concerning the political trustworthiness and constitution of the Romans; the supposed captivity of Antiochus the Great, in viii, 6 sq.; the overstated number of elephants employed in the battle of

¹ W. FAIRWEATHER, art. Maccabees (books of), in HASTINGS, Dict. of the Bible, vol. iii, p. 189.

² Cfr. viii, 22 sqq.; ix, 22; xii, 5, 19; xiv, 20, 27-45; etc., etc.

Magnesia (viii, 6); the statement concerning the Spartans as racially akin to the Jews, in xii, 6; etc. But in many of those cases, as justly maintained by Fr. H. Reusch,¹ it cannot be proved that it is the writer of the Machabees who is actually at fault; the Roman or Greek historian whose statements are opposed to his should not be taken too readily as giving the accurate version of the events in question. "Besides, even granting, for the sake of supposition, that such minute details are not strictly correct, the inaccuracies might be traced back to national prejudices, popular reports, or to defective information regarding the outer world, or to an imperfect rendering in the Greek from the Hebrew or Aramaic original, or even to subsequent mistakes of transcription. At any rate, there is no ground for accusing the writer of any intention to mislead."² Even in cases where the writer seems to exaggerate the figures he gives,³ he probably conforms to the prevailing custom of his age,⁴ or simply reproduces the numbers which he finds in the written or oral traditions at his disposal: in neither case "can he be accused of positive error, for he does not claim to write history as demanded by modern criticism."⁵ Finally, it is evident that such small blemishes, if blemishes they are under the pen of the sacred writer, do not in any way impair the substantial historical value of his narrative.⁶

¹ *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das alte Test.*, p. 137 (Freiburg, 1868).

² Abbé GILLET, *les Machabées*, p. 48.

³ In such cases as v, 54; vi, 30, 37; xi, 48.

⁴ W. FAIRWEATHER, art. *Maccabees* (books of), in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, p. 189. Cfr. Also Abbé MARTIN, *Origine du Pentateuque*, vol. i, p. 101.

⁵ Paul SCHANZ in the *Theol. Quart.-Schrift*, for 1895, p. 188.

⁶ For a detailed examination of the particular passages objected to by certain critics, see Abbé GILLET, *loc. cit.*; VIGOUROUX, *Livres Saints et Critique Rationaliste*, vol. iv, livre ii, sect. v, chap. i; etc.

§ 2. *The Second Book of the Machabees.*

1. Contents. The second book of the Machabees is not a continuation of, but rather an independent supplement to, the first. Its narrative covers the period from the closing year of the reign of Seleucus IV. (175 B.C.) to the death of Nicanor (161 B.C.), and thus, while it takes us back one year further than is done by the first book of the Machabees, it stops short by a quarter of a century of the point reached in that work.

In its present form the second book of the Machabees opens with two letters which have no apparent connection with the body of the narrative. The first (i, 1-10^a) is addressed by the inhabitants of Jerusalem to the Jews of Egypt, for the purpose of inviting them to celebrate the feast of the Dedication. The second (i, 10^b-ii, 19) is directed by the Sanhedrim and Judas Machabeus to Aristobulus, the preceptor of King Ptolemy, and to the Egyptian Jews, to make known to them the death of Antiochus Epiphanes and other important events.

Then follows the writer's own Preface (ii, 20-33), wherein he tells his readers of the source, scope and design of his work; for their sakes he will undertake the hard task of "abridging in one book" "all such things as have been comprised in five books by Jason of Cyrene." This Abridgment or Epitome is made up of two distinct parts,¹ the first of which deals with the events which occurred under Antiochus Epiphanes, gives particulars chiefly in reference to his persecutions against the Jews, and concludes with the institution of a festival intended to commemorate the purification of the Temple by Judas Machabeus (iii-x, 9). The

¹ According to some scholars five parts may be distinguished, corresponding to the five books of Jason, and ending, respectively, with iii, 40; vii, 42; x, 9; xiii, 26; xv, 37.

second "relates the acts of Eupator the son of that wicked Antiochus," and concludes, like the first, with the institution of a festival, intended this time to celebrate the defeat and death of the Syrian general Nicanor (x, 10-xv, 37). The Epitomizer closes, as he had opened his narrative, with certain characteristic remarks concerning the nature of his work (xv, 38-40).

2. Purpose and Language. The more closely one looks into the contents of the second book of the Machabees, the more clearly he realizes that the general aim of the work was not simply to supply the readers with a consecutive history of the period which it covers, but also to contribute to their edification and instruction by reminding them of "the manifestations that came from heaven to them that behaved themselves manfully on behalf of the Jews."¹ A more special object, however, seems to have been to do honor to the Temple of Jerusalem, particularly in connection with the celebration of the two festivals, the institution of which, as stated above, concludes each part of the narrative proper. It is in view of this special purpose that the various events which might make for it are kept steadily in view, irrespective at times of their chronological sequence. From the start (ii, 20, 23) the attention is directed to "the great temple," "the most renowned temple in all the world," and to the honors which even pagan princes bestowed on it, "esteeming the place worthy of the highest honor, and glorifying the temple with great gifts."² It is skilfully suggested that the holiness of this second temple is in no way inferior to that of Solomon's temple;³ and carefully explained why God permitted His house, for a time, to be desecrated,⁴ and how, subsequently, He raised

¹ II Machab. ii, 22. Cfr. VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, n. 574.

² II Machab. iii, 2. See also v, 15; ix, 16; xiii, 23.

³ II Machab. i, 20-32; ii, 10.

⁴ II Machab. v, 17-20; x, 3.

it out of its pitiable condition.¹ The writer shows that on several occasions the Almighty protected it by miraculous interpositions, and severely punished those who attempted to violate it.² He likewise records the avowals of their great guilt which those thus severely visited from on high make when under punishment,³ and transcribes the two opening letters wherein the Egyptian Jews are invited to share in the festivals of the Temple of Jerusalem. "The purification of that temple by Judas Machabeus had occurred in 164 B.C., and these two letters had been sent from the Holy City in 144 and 124,⁴ respectively. Now in 150 B.C. Onias IV. erected near Hieropolis, in Egypt, a temple like to that of Jerusalem, for the public services of the Jews who resided in that country. Hence the aim of the second book of the Machabees can easily be inferred. In setting forth all that the Palestinian Jews had suffered and accomplished on account of their temple, the author wished to endear to his Hellenistic fellow Jews the temple of Jerusalem, and prevent them from forgetting that the true temple of their nation, the true house of Yahweh, the very place wherein worship welcome to Him should be offered, is no other than the famous sanctuary of the Holy City."⁵

When this purpose of the book is distinctly borne in mind it becomes, as it were, natural to think of the Greek as the original language of a work destined to Greek-speaking Jews. In fact all modern critics who have diligently examined the question of the original language of the second book of the Machabees agree with St. Jerome when he says: "*Secundus (liber Machabæorum) græcus est, quod ex ipsa quoque phrasi probari potest.*"⁶ "Naturally," writes

¹ II Machab. x, 1.

² II Machab. iii, 24; xiii, 6-8; xiv, 31 sqq.; xv, 32.

³ II Machab. iii, 37-39; viii, 34-36; ix, 12-17.

⁴ II Machab. i, 7, 10.

⁵ H. LESÊTRE, *Introd.*, vol. ii, p. 345 sq.

⁶ Prologus Galeatus.

one of them,¹ "Hebraisms occur, but they are much fewer and less marked than was to be expected and than was common with works having such an origin, handling such a material, and written for such an object as the present book. They are mostly confined to single expressions, and do not extend to any degree to grammatical forms. It is an interesting circumstance bearing on this point that the word for Jerusalem is nowhere rendered by the Hebraistic form *Ἱερουσαλήμ*, but always by the Greek *Ἱερουσόλυμα*. The Greek used is, in general, that employed by profane writers of the first or second centuries before Christ, particularly by Polybius. The style is highly rhetorical. The author seems to delight in alliteration. We find, for instance, *ἄγειν ἄγωνα* (iv, 18), *ἄλλος ἄλλαχῇ* (xii, 22), *αἰτός αὐτόθι* (xv, 37), and numerous other instances of the same sort. In fact critics have availed themselves of this marked characteristic of the writer in order to determine the proper reading in some cases of special doubt. He shows himself, also, to be master of an exceedingly rich vocabulary of Greek words and expressions in the different dress which he gives to the same thought, and in the variety and splendor of his ornamentation (iii, 20; iv, 15; v, 13, 20; viii, 18. Cfr. iii, 28; vi, 25 sq.; vii, 21). . . .

"Unusual words and expressions, moreover, or words in an uncommon sense, are somewhat frequent. . . . The writer shows a special liking for a certain circumlocution, that is for the use of the word *ποιεῖσθαι* with the verbal idea expressed by a substantive in the accusative. He speaks of making a report, for instance (ii, 30), as *ποιεῖσθαὶ λόγον*, just as we often say 'he made a report,' instead of 'he reported.' . . . The object was not simply to give variety, but emphasis as well."

It should be noticed that these remarks concerning the

¹ E. C. BISSELL, *The Apocrypha* (in LANGE's Commentary), p. 559.

Greek diction of the book apply only, in their full extent, to the body of the work (ii, 20-xv). In the two opening letters Hebraisms appear much more frequently; yet they also were probably composed in Greek, because addressed to the Jews of Egypt, whose language had long been, not Hebrew or Aramaic, but Greek.¹

3. Author and Date of Composition. While the aim and language of the second book of the Machabees can thus be accurately determined, such is far from being the case with its author. Nothing is really known concerning the person or social surroundings of the Epitomizer, and little more can be ascertained in regard to Jason of Cyrene, whose larger work he faithfully abridged. It has indeed been conjectured that the latter was "Jason the son of Eleazar," one of the two ambassadors whom Judas Machabeus sent to Rome "to make a league of amity."² But no proof is forthcoming, although "this ambassador may have been a skilled Hellenist, whose Hebrew name of *Josue* had been changed into the Greek name of *Jason*, and may be readily conceived as having written, previously to his setting forth for Rome, the history of the persecution under Antiochus and of the glorious deeds of Judas Machabeus."³ In compiling his work Jason had most likely both oral and written sources at his disposal, and the place to which he belonged shows that he also wrote in Greek.

Great uncertainty prevails likewise regarding the date to which the composition of the second book of the Machabees should be referred. It is not unlikely that Jason wrote shortly after 160 B.C.,⁴ the year to which his history seems to have been brought down, but how long after cannot be

¹ CORNELI, loc. cit., p. 155 sq.; GILLET, loc. cit., p. 25; etc.

² I Mach. viii, 17.

³ H. LESETRE, Introduction, vol. ii, p. 347.

⁴ Cfr. E. SCHÜRER, History of the Jewish People, divis. ii, vol. iii, p. 212.

determined. The same is the case as regards the "Epitome." In chap. xv, 38 the Epitomizer says indeed that from the death of Nicanor the Jews had held Jerusalem, and hence it might be inferred that the book was finished immediately after Nicanor's defeat, but the expressions can hardly be taken so strictly. In the absence of positive information various approximate dates have been suggested: between 159 and 123 (Scholz, Cornely, Kaulen, H. Lesêtre); about 106 (Vigouroux); about 100 (Reusch and Welte); before the middle of the century immediately preceding the Christian era (Jahn); in the last half of that century, shortly before Philo (Samuel Davidson). Perhaps the latest date to which it can reasonably be assigned is 64 B.C., the earliest being naturally the year 124 B.C., referred to by the first opening letter (i, 10^a).

4. Historical Value of the Component Parts.

There are few writings in the sacred literature of the Old Testament whose historical value is more strongly objected to by contemporary critics than that of the second book of the Machabees. They maintain that its contents, when compared with those of the first book, with which they are for the most part parallel, prove of a much less reliable character. Whence they draw the conclusion that in the case of discrepancies¹ the account of the first book must unhesitatingly be preferred. This disparaging view is based chiefly on the following grounds: (1) the tone of the whole work is much more rhetorical and its treatment more subjective than those of the first book of the Machabees;² (2) the many improbabilities and exaggerations noticeable in the body of the work—for instance, in the detailed account of

¹ The principal discrepancies usually alleged are given by W. FAIRWEATHER, in HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii, p. 191.

² Cfr. Samuel DAVIDSON, *Introd. to Old Test.*, vol. iii, p. 447; E. SCHÜRER, *loc. cit.*, p. 212; etc.

the cruelties inflicted upon the martyrs (vi, 18-vii, 41), and at which Epiphanes is said to have been present; the drowning of 200 Jews by the inhabitants of Joppe (xii, 3-7); etc.; (3) the excessive figures given in viii, 24, 30; x, 23, 31; xi, 11; xii, 19, 20, 26, 28; xv, 27;¹ (4) the very peculiar and legendary details recorded in connection with the miracles in iii, 25-27; v, 2, 3; xi, 8; xv, 12; etc.; (5) the spurious character of the opening letters, which are in glaring contradiction (i, 7, 13-16) with statements found in the narrative proper (xv, 37; ix). All these and many other such details and features "do not occur in the first book of the Machabees, and have the appearance of being additions to the true history."²

On the other hand, the advocates of the historical character of the second book of the Machabees appeal to the following general arguments in favor of their position. Even though we should admit apparent contradictions between the opening letters and the contents of the narrative proper, it does not follow at once that those letters are totally deprived of historical value. This they illustrate by the following example: "The second letter (i, 11-16) says that Antiochus was put to death in the temple of Nanea, whereas in the body of the work (ix, 1-28) he is described as attacked by a disease as he was returning from Persia, and that his flesh putrified while he was yet alive. Now, in both cases, there is no doubt question of one and the same Antiochus Epiphanes, and it cannot be maintained, as affirmed by some authors,³ that the body of the book speaks of a different prince from the one mentioned in the letter.

¹ We are told, for inst., that the small army of the Jews slew at one time "above nine thousand men" (viii, 24); at other times "above twenty thousand" (viii, 30; x, 23, 31); etc.

² JAHN, *Introd. to Old Test.*, p. 545. Cfr. also HASTINGS, *loc. cit.*, pp. 190, 191; etc.

³ Among those authors may be mentioned VIGOUROUX, *Livres Saints et Critique Rationaliste*, vol. iv.

This latter document narrates the death of a kingly persecutor (i, 12) as having perished quite recently : so that its statement cannot be understood of Antiochus III., who had died a quarter of a century before and had always been friendly to the Jews. The Jewish writers of the letter were simply betrayed into error by an exaggerated account. Antiochus Epiphanes escaped from the massacre in the temple of Nanea; but when the news of this butchery reached Judæa it was at once supposed that he had been among its victims, and it was under this impression that the Jews wrote the letter to their Alexandrian brethren. The author of the second book knew full well that Antiochus died only a little later on his way back, since he records it himself in ix, 1-28. But he deemed it expedient to transcribe the letter exactly as it had been composed.”¹

As regards the contents of the body of the work, the defenders of their historical value maintain that the wonderful details connected with certain occurrences should simply be regarded as miraculous; that the figures objected to as excessive are not really so, or that the exaggeration—if such there be—is the outcome of defective transcription; that the many historical improbabilities with which the narrative is said to be teeming, when closely examined, cannot be considered as such; that the differences in the chronology of the two books may be reconciled by reference to the different methods of commencing the year; etc.² In fact the very opponents of the historical character of the second book of the Machabees are obliged to grant that “the earlier portion of the narrative (iii, 1-iv, 2) is of

¹ H. LÊSETRE, *Introd.*, vol. ii, p. 351 sq., who refers to such Catholic scholars as Emmanuel Sa, Cornelius à Lapide, Welte, Kaulen, Gillet and Cornely, as admitting the same view. A detailed examination of the other difficulties urged against the opening letters will be found in LÊSETRE, *loc. cit.*; GILLET, *Comm. sur les Machabées*; etc.

² Cfr., beside GILLET, LÊSETRE and CORNELY already referred to, F. X. PATRIZI, S. J., *de Consensu utriusque Libri Machabæorum* (Rome, 1856).

the greatest value, and that there is no reason to doubt its substantial truthfulness. There are indeed many important particulars in which the book agrees with I Mach. (cfr. iv-vi, 10 with I Mach. i, 10-64). It is also in accord with Josephus, who was unacquainted with it, in regard to several events about which I Mach. is silent (cfr. iv, vi, 2; xiii, 3-8; xiv, 1 with Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book xii, chap. v, §§ 1, 5; chap. ix, § 7; chap. x, § 1). . . . In all that relates to the Syrian kingdom Jason's knowledge is extensive and minute. The names and rank of Syrian officers (iv, 27; v, 24; xii, 2; xiv, 2), as well as the identity of minor personages (iv, 30; viii, 32; x, 32), are familiar to him."¹

But be all this as it may, "all the supposed exaggerations in the figures of soldiers combating or killed, the apparitions of knights in the air, . . . all these things cannot be laid to the charge of either Jason or his Epitomizer; they are popular beliefs which the sacred writer records and which simply prove the actual assistance granted by God to His chosen people."² And this last view appears all the more plausible to many Catholic scholars because the Epitomizer's preface contains the following statements: "All such things as have been comprised in the five books of Jason of Cyrene we have attempted to abridge in one book, . . . leaving to the authors the exact handling of every particular, and as for ourselves, according to the plan proposed, studying to be brief, . . . for to collect all that is to be known, to put the discourse in order, and curiously to discuss every particular point, is the duty of the author of a history; but to pursue brevity of speech and to avoid nice declarations of things is to be granted to him that maketh

¹ HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. iii, pp. 190, 191; E. SCHÜRER, *loc. cit.*, p. 212.

² Abbé GILLET, *les Machabées* (in Lethiellieux' Bible), p. 22.

an abridgment.”¹ For, according to a very recent writer: “The fact that a discourse or a document is embodied in Holy Writ does not *ipso facto* give a new value to that discourse or that document”; and again: “Nothing prevents, at least in theory, an inspired author from borrowing from a profane historian the narrative of facts which will be used as an outward framework to his teaching, without guaranteeing the full and entire authenticity of all those facts.”²

¹ II Mach. ii, 24, 29, 31, 32.

² Father PRAT, S.J., in “les Etudes” for Feb. 20, 1901 (pp. 479, 485).

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